

Author

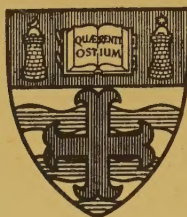
MUIR

Class Mark

DE 657.7 M8

Book No.

312



UNIVERSITY
OF NOTTINGHAM
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

WITHDRAWN

FROM THE LIBRARY

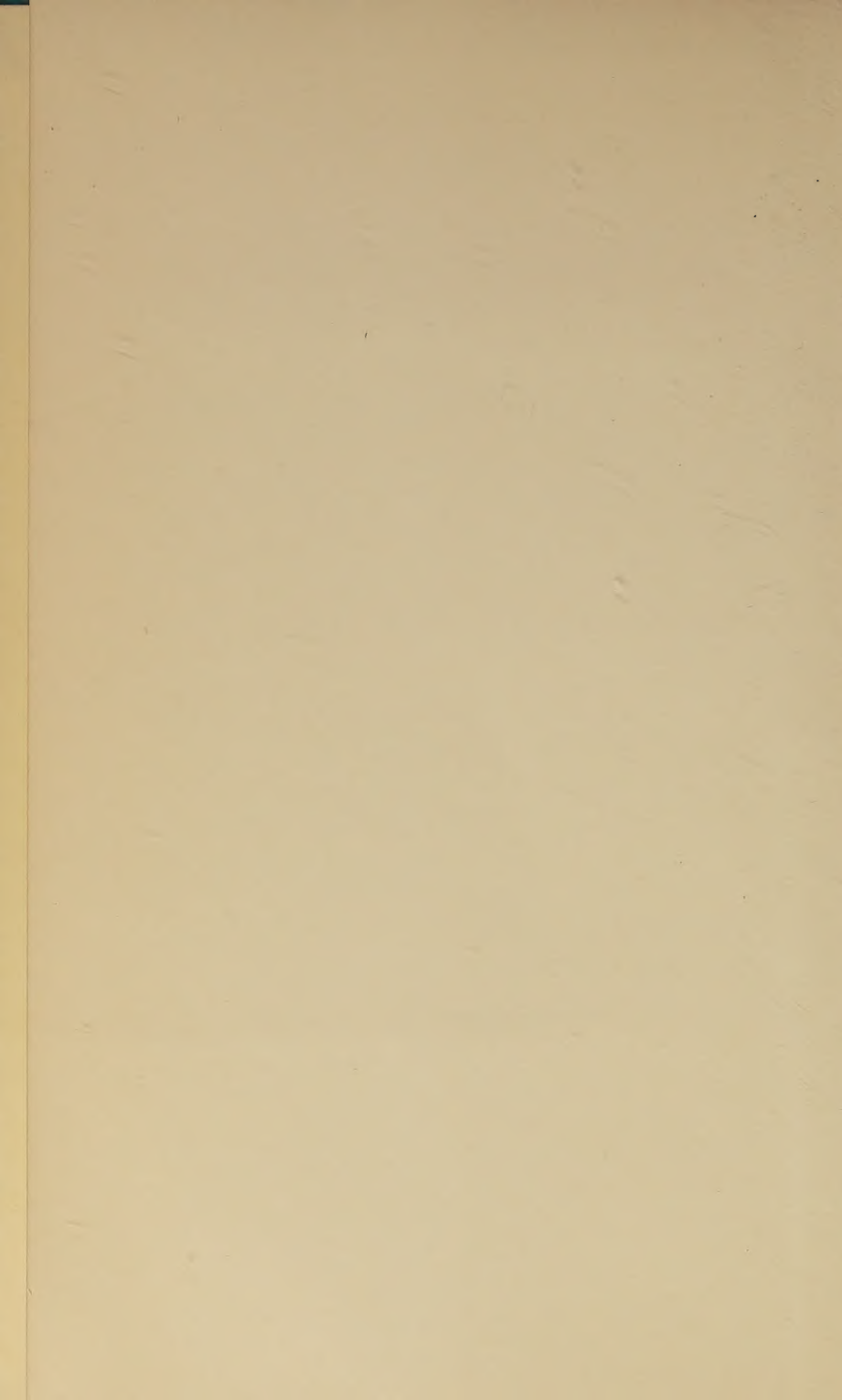
60 0076237 5

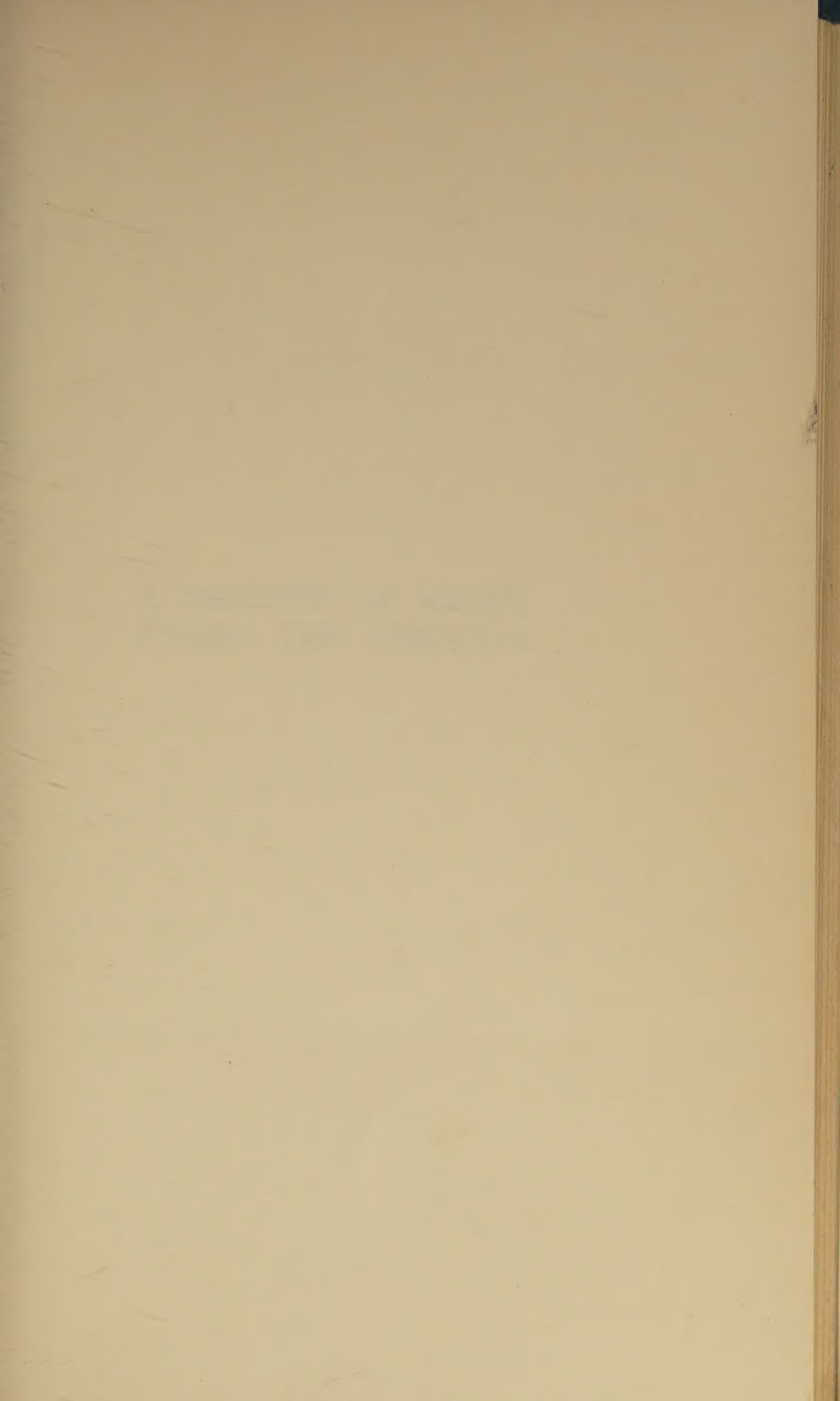
TELEPEN



FROM THE LIBRARY

Students and External Readers	Staff & Research Students	
DATE DUE FOR RETURN	DATE OF ISSUE	
<div data-bbox="349 616 589 650">11 MAR 81 0063</div> <div data-bbox="318 732 584 766">23 JUN 92 0032</div>		<div data-bbox="703 527 881 570">-3. APR. 1969</div> <div data-bbox="667 647 967 681">-5. FEB 81 16816</div> <div data-bbox="687 775 853 818">30 JUN 1995</div> <div data-bbox="605 860 874 1082"><div>UNIVERSITY LIBRARY HALL</div><div>① THIS ITEM IS DUE FOR RETURN ON 29 NOV 99</div></div>





**A HISTORY OF MILAN
UNDER THE VISCONTI**

- A HISTORY OF MILAN UNDER THE SFORZA
By CECILIA M. ADY
- A HISTORY OF VERONA
By A. M. ALLEN
- A HISTORY OF PERUGIA
By WILLIAM HEYWOOD
- A SHORT HISTORY OF THE PAPACY
By MARY I. M. BELL

**A HISTORY OF
MILAN
UNDER THE VISCONTI**

BY
DOROTHY MUIR



WITH A MAP



**METHUEN & CO. LTD.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON**

First Published in 1924

DG 657.7 M8
312

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN



TO
W. S.
AND
T. A. E. M.



CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTORY - - - - -	I
<p>Milan—Origin and situation—Early history—Rise of the "Tyrannis"—The della Torre and the Visconti.</p>	
II. THE ORIGIN AND RISE OF THE VISCONTI -	5
<p>Origin of the Visconti—Race and possessions—Early genealogy—Rise of Archbishop Ottone—The rivalry with the della Torre—Matteo Visconti—His first period of rule—Temporary defeat by the della Torre—Emperor Henry—Matteo made Vicar of Lombardy.</p>	
III. MATTEO THE GREAT - - - - -	14
<p>Student at Bologna—Lord of Milan—Policy of aggression—Genoa, Cremona, and Vicenza—Quarrel with the Papacy—Matteo and Dante—Accusation of sorcery—Excommunication—Deputation of Milanese nobles—Policy of the Legate—Matteo's abdication and death.</p>	
IV. GALEAZZO AND AZZO - - - - -	25
<p>Difficulties of Galeazzo—Family dissensions—The Emperor's intervention—Imprisonment of Galeazzo—Release and death—Azzo succeeds—He defies Louis—Peace with the Pope—Quiet rule in Milan—Success in restoring dominions and in suppressing family dissensions.</p>	
V. ARCHBISHOP GIOVANNI - - - - -	36
<p>Joint rule with Luchino—Trouble with nephews—Luchino's difficulties—His death—Rule of Visconti made hereditary—Acquisitions of Giovanni—Account of the Visconti territories, how gained and when—Bologna and the Visconti—Genoa acquired—Position of Venice—War with Milan—Methods and Government of Visconti in their possessions—Extension of Milanese.</p>	

VI. GALEAZZO II AND BERNABÒ - - - - -

52

Great increase in Visconti power—Relations of the two brothers—Division of the territory—Arrival of the Emperor Charles—Galeazzo's home policy—Pavia and Montferrat—Career of the Monk Bussolari—An early Savonarola—Siege of Pavia—Fall of Bussolari—Galeazzo goes to Pavia—Founding of the university—Montferrat introduces free companies—Galeazzo bribes the English—His successes against Montferrat—Savoy intervenes—Peace concluded—Giangaleazzo made of age—Murder of Montferrat—Foreign policy of Galeazzo—His great marriage alliances—Valentina's birth and christening—Marriage of Violante and Lionel Duke of Clarence—Their wedding feast.

VII. BERNABÒ - - - - -

67

Bernabò, his character—Stories of his punishments—His justice—His jokes—Methods of government—Quarrels with the Papacy—League against the Lord of Bologna and efforts to recover it—Hawkwood employed by Bernabò—The schism—Bernabò's relations with Florence—Victories of Mirandola and Rubiera—Quarrel with Hawkwood—Defeat of Bernabò—The Neapolitain succession—Alliance with France—Position of Giangaleazzo—Bernabò's fall, imprisonment, and death.

VIII. GIANGALEAZZO - - - - -

88

Giangaleazzo, character and education—Good government—*Foreign policy* of his reign—The Neapolitain question—French alliance—Marriage of Valentina—Kingdom of Adria—The *voie de fait*—The expedition of Stephen of Bavaria and Armagnac—Peace of Genoa—Bernabò's heirs—League of Bologna—Alliance with Wenceslas and creation of the Duchy of Milan—Expedition of Emperor Rupert defeated—*Home policy*—Conquest of Verona and Padua—Birth of an heir—League of Florence and Bologna—War against Florence—Peace of Genoa—Mantuan league—Second war—Truce of 1398—Acquisition of Perugia and Siena—Advance in Tuscany—Florence calls in the Emperor—Advance on Florence—Death of Giangaleazzo—Estimate of his career.

IX. GIOVANNI MARIA - - - - -

125

Position on death of Giangaleazzo—Caterina as regent—Enmity of Carrara—Venice also hostile—Cessions to Pope and to Venice—Outbreak of revolt—Caterina expelled from Milan—Character of Giovanni Maria—The charges against him—Facino Cane and the Duke—Murder of the Duke.

X. FILIPPO MARIA - - - - -133

Character—Obtains possession of Milan—Marriage to Beatrice Tenda—Policy of recovering his father's possessions—Employment of condottieri—The mercenaries in Italy in the fifteenth century—Career of Carmagnola—His connexion with Filippo Maria—Milanese victories—Bergamo, Cremona, Parma, Piacenza, and Genoa recovered—Rise of Sforza—Flight of Carmagnola—War with Venice—Peace of Ferrara 1428—Montferrat and Savoy—Second Venetian war—Trial and death of Carmagnola—Plight of Montferrat—Milanese victory over the Swiss—Second peace of Ferrara—The Medici and Milan—Alliance of Milan and Savoy—Third war with Venetian league—Naval victory of Ponza—Successes of Filippo Maria—Venice sends for Sforza—Battle of Anghiari—Marriage of Sforza and Bianca Maria—Attack on Cremona—Desperate plight of Milan—Death of the Duke—Claimants to Duchy—The Ambrosian Republic—Estimate of Filippo Maria.

XI. SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE VISCONTI - - -173

Governing bodies—Legislation—Taxation—Justice—The *podestà*—Crime and punishments—Game laws—Classes—The Court—Drama—System of posts—Trade—Military system—Buildings—Sport—Food and Clothes—Valentina's trousseau—Life at Pavia—The Castello at Pavia: rooms, library, and gardens.

XII. WOMEN OF THE VISCONTI FAMILY - - -200

Regina della Scala, her children and their destinies—Her character—Her investments—Donnina dei Porri—Lucia and her proposed marriages—Agnese Gonzaga and her married life and execution—Catarina, wife of Giangaleazzo—Her life at Pavia—Difficulties after her husband's death—Quarrel with her son and murder—Bianca of Savoy, and her Court at Pavia—Violante and Isabella—Valentina, her marriage and trousseau—Her life in Paris—Murder of Louis d'Orleans—Claim of Valentina's heirs to Milan—Visconti descendants in France, Austria, and England.

XIII. ART AND LETTERS - - - - -222

Petrarch, association with the Visconti—Its justification—His Italian poetry and Latin works—Humanist—Minor poets—Political songs—Lament of Bernabò—University of Pavia—The new learning—Education of boys and girls—Ideals of the

humanists—Greek scholars at Pavia—Effect on Europe—
 Architecture under the Visconti—The Duomo of Milan—
 Its foundation, organization and style—The Certosa of
 Pavia—Brickwork of Lombardy—Tombs of the Visconti
 —Illuminated manuscripts—Coinage.

TERRITORY · OF MILAN · UNDER · GIANGALEAZZO · 1378-1402



MILAN UNDER THE VISCONTI

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Milan — Origin and situation — Early history — Rise of the "Tyrannis"—The della Torre and the Visconti.

MILAN is amongst those Italian cities whose histories show a continuous vitality. From the remote past, down to the present day, she has been full of life and growth and activity. In the age of the despots she took the lead under the great Visconti; their successors, the Sforzas, kept her in the front rank of the Renaissance States; she played an important part in the wars against the French invaders; and when the Hapsburgs added Northern Italy to their dynastic possessions she became a focus of the opposition which their misrule eventually produced. She was prominent in the formation of the modern kingdom of Italy, and to-day she is still full of life and vigour and apt to disturb her neighbours by her fiery activity.

A part of this vitality, which is so marked a characteristic, derives from her geographical situation. At first sight there seems no special reason why a city should have grown up in this place, for no great rivers run nearby, nor are there any natural features which make it a good defensive position. Further consideration shows, however, that the site was an admirable one for a commercial centre. The great plain which stretches round the city walls is very fertile, and across it passes one of the great routes into Italy. It is the meeting-place of many roads across the mountains.

Lombardy was the area traversed by all the different invaders in turn, and they left behind them in Milan marked traces of their passing. Thus the Lombards, from whom the district still takes its name, bequeathed to the Milanese a taller stature and a fairer complexion than is found elsewhere in Northern Italy. When the invasions had subsided, trade continued to follow the paths marked out, and through the city passed a double volume, from north to south and from east to west.

Historically, Milan had been from very ancient times the chief city of the north-west. She was the capital of Cisalpine Gaul, though very few traces are left of that period. Completely destroyed by the early barbarian invaders, she rose again to greatness under Ambrose, Archbishop and Saint. Helped by this connexion she recovered with extraordinary rapidity, and even after her destruction by Barbarossa she quickly regained her wealth and population.

The city, which by the thirteenth century had thus triumphantly asserted her strength, was a busy town, with a high level of civilization, and one of which we possess a curious picture. Bonvenius describes her in the year 1299 as having a population of 200,000 laity, with an additional 10,000 priests. There were 450 butchers, 450 fishmongers, 150 inns, and more than 100 arm factories, for even in those days the Milanese were famed for their swords and armour. Every day 70 oxen were killed for meat, and during the season 60 cartloads of cherries would be brought into the city. In the whole territory the herds of oxen were reckoned at 30,000 pairs. There were 900 mills for the grinding of corn, but these would not have sufficed if part of the population had not eaten chiefly chestnuts, millet, and bean. The professional classes, as catalogued by this writer, included 120 lawyers, 1,500 notaries, 28 doctors, 150 surgeons, 8 professors of *ars grammatica*, and 14 *dottori di canto ambrosiano*.

In this great city, already so highly organized, there

existed a deep and ancient cleavage between the classes. Three distinct bodies appear, representing a broad division of three main classes. The upper ranks of the nobles were organized into *captains*, who had originally been rural counts with large estates outside the city; the *vavasours*, or gentry, were similarly formed into a body called the *motta*, which seems to have consisted of well-to-do, non-noble burghers and possibly the smaller nobility; and the *Credenza* of St. Ambrose, a kind of political club formed and run by the butchers, bakers, bootmakers, etc., was in fact the organization of the lower classes.

Both the *capitani* and the *vavassori* had each their own council and their own captain, while the *credenza* had its own assembly and the *podestà del popolo* at its head.

Milan was unlike Florence in this, that the "greater arts" seem to have had little power and hardly appear as separate political organizations. Some have found here the possible explanation of the ease with which a family despotism was established.

As regards the actual government of the commune, it was a working compromise between the councils of the organized classes. There was a great Council of Eight Hundred, of which one half was composed of *capitani* and the rest of the other classes in unknown proportions. The *podestà* nominated one half of the whole Council, and as he was himself appointed in this period by the "lord," the Council was in consequence largely the instrument of the ruling family. The *podestà*, as was usual throughout Italy, was a foreigner, and his position may be best explained as that of an impartial judge, brought in with the object of keeping justice free from local corruptions and feuds. Much of the administration was in his hands, and in Milan he had no bed of roses. One *podestà* was murdered out of hand for raising the rates in order to provide a water-supply for the city. Suspicions of the wisdom of granting great power to one individual had led to the creation of a second *podestà*,

so that there was one for the *capitani* and one for the *popolo*. A vestige of popular control remained in the gathering of citizens known as the *arrengo*, but all power rested in reality in the hands of the strongly organized upper classes.

Between the nobles there existed the most bitter feuds. Guelfs and Ghibellines divided the city into factions, and, as in so many cases, it was here that the great families found their opportunities. The citizens found their peace disturbed and their commerce threatened by the fierce struggle between the respective supporters of Emperor and Pope, and until one faction could overwhelm the other there was small prospect of any happiness in Milan. Here the Guelf party was headed by the family of the della Torre, while at the head of the Ghibellines were the Visconti. The early years of the fourteenth century saw the sharp conflict of these two, and the rise of the Visconti from obscurity to triumphant rule.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN AND RISE OF THE VISCONTI

Origin of the Visconti—Race and possessions—Their early genealogy—Rise of Archbishop Ottone—The rivalry with the della Torre—Matteo Visconti—His first period of rule—Temporary defeat by the della Torre—The Emperor Henry—Matteo made Vicar of Lombardy.

OF the origin of this extraordinarily gifted family little is known. When they became great, chroniclers tried to magnify their house by finding famous lineage for them, but practically no documents exist to show us the truth. The contest with the Pope complicated matters further, for Matteo took advantage of the obscurity which hung round the family to make claims which his opponent found it hard to disprove.

It was known that the Visconti were an ancient stock of aristocratic origin, and in the golden hair and fair complexions which characterized them and which persisted to the end, may be found traces of the early Franks, a fair-headed race who had swept into Lombardy and intermarried with the existing population. The unusual Christian names which also mark them puzzled the old chroniclers who tried to derive "Obizzo" from "Jacobus," and got no further. In any case they appear, at the close of the thirteenth century, owning certain lands outside the city at Inverio, Oleggio, and Massino.

The family lands trace back probably to the "donations" made by Archbishop Landolfo in the tenth century. The Visconti also possessed certain rights in the city—some over weights and measures, which they surrendered to the commune in 1211; some over punishments, which they retained, and which, according to Fiamma, survived in the

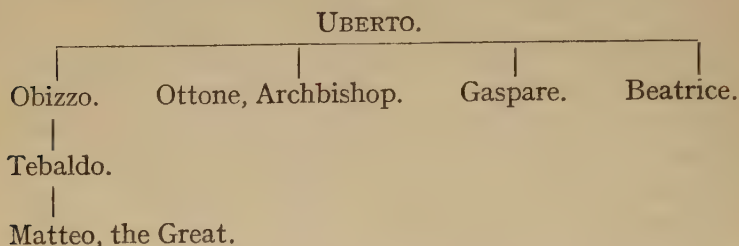
right of the Visconti ladies to save malefactors from flogging by throwing their cloaks over them. The famous banner with the viper, from whose jaws emerges a naked child, existed from the tenth century, and many conjectures have been made as to its origin. A recent historian has put forward an explanation which throws a great deal of light on this much-discussed problem. The earliest mention of the "Biscia" is found in Bonvesio, and the first actual portrayal of the device is on a carved stone in the palace of Archbishop Ottone at Legnano. Bonvesio describes it as an azure serpent, from whose mouth is issuing a naked Saracen. The ground of the device is thought to have been white. The early descriptions and examples all give a serpent with one simple coil; it is only after Bernabò's time that we find the other convolutions added, together with the spiny crest and the crown which was granted by the Dukes of Austria. The transformation of the Saracen into a child also comes later. Further, the Legnano serpent has its mouth to the right; the later ones all turn to the left. This change is also to be noted in the devices on the coinage. It is shown that the device had originally been granted by the Commune of Milan to the Visconti; the chroniclers, especially Bonvesio and Fiamma, are clear on this point. Many disputes, however, arose as to the grounds on which it had been granted. The most picturesque story said that "Uberto della Croce" slew a Saracen in single combat while in the Holy Land and was given the crest in honour of his victory. Others went back to a mythical dragon killed in the ninth century. Some departed altogether from these lines, and Petrarch described Azzo Visconti resting beneath an oak and being miraculously preserved from a viper which had crept into his helmet and thence all over his body. At length a more possible origin has been suggested, and one which fits in with all the known facts. In 1002 Archbishop Arnolfo of Milan went on an embassy to Constantinople and brought back a famous relic, the brazen serpent, which was erected in San

Ambrogio, and which was supposed to be the original brazen serpent of Moses. This relic was for centuries the object of veneration to the Milanese, and still exists in the Basilica. When the city sent its first contingent to the first Crusade, Archbishop Arnolfo was too old to go, but he sent his Vice Conte, Ottone. As the children of Israel had prayed and been preserved in the wilderness through the brazen serpent, so the citizens of Milan prayed in San Ambrogio, before what they believed to be the selfsame serpent, that their compatriots might also be preserved in their journey through the Holy Land. What more natural, in view of this cult, than that the Crusading body should take as their emblem the famous serpent? Then on their triumphant return from Jerusalem they would add the Saracen being swallowed up, in token of the great victory they had won over the enemy. In support of this theory is the fact that the early viper of Legnano turns its head in the same direction and resembles in general the actual serpent in San Ambrogio, while the connexion of the Visconti banner with the first Crusade is spoken of by all the chroniclers.

Ottone, who as Vice Conte of the Archbishopric, gained the office in perpetuity for his family, probably gained for them also the use of this banner. In any case, he carved the stone at Legnano, and his family used the device after him. By the middle of the thirteenth century it is well established as the family device, though with the modifications which have helped to obscure its origin.

As regards the growth of the Visconti, all we know for certain is that, by the irony of fate, this Ghibelline family owes its first step towards greatness to Archbishop Ottone, one of the earliest members who emerged from obscurity. Ottone was destined to start Matteo, later called "the Great," on his career; but the relationship between the two is even now not clear. It has been proved that Matteo's father was Tebaldo, "rector" of the valleys of

Levantina and Blenio in 1255, and this Tebaldo was the nephew of Archbishop Ottone. Probably he was the son of Obizzo—Obizzo and Ottone being the sons of Uberto.



Matteo was born in 1247 at Invorio, and the old tale went that at his birth the oxen left their stables and came out into the yard lowing, as if in greeting to the heir. He grew up to find his part waiting for him at the side of his great-uncle in the struggle with the della Torre, on which the family now embarked.

The della Torre are in reality the founders of the first tyranny in Milan. They, too, were an old family of Frankish descent belonging to the rural nobility. Martino della Torre was captain of the people in 1247, and his influence was very great. He headed the resistance to Ezzelino da Romano. In 1262 he found himself opposed by the Visconti in the candidature for the Archbishopric of Milan. Raymondo della Torre was elected, but Urban IV held that the appointment had lapsed to himself and nominated Ottone Visconti. Pure force decided the matter, Ottone occupying what he could, and helped by his family and their resources. For years while the della Torre were in power Ottone could not even enter his See nor enjoy the fruits of his diocese.

Martino della Torre died in 1264, and though the Pope had placed him under an interdict he received the most splendid funeral Milan had yet seen. He was followed by his brother Filippo della Torre, who had for a while ruled as

podestà of the people for life, but his early death in 1265 left the headship of the family to Napo (Napoleone). This Napo became the typical "tyrant" of the day. He held court, with extravagant festivities, in the splendid palace which he built. He acted as host to illustrious visitors, of whom during these years there was an unprecedented influx. In 1251 Pope Innocent IV came to the city, in 1271 King Philip III of France, followed two years later by Edward I of England and his wife Eleanor, returning from the famous Crusade.

Napo reorganized the military forces of Milan, making a census and allotting to each household a quota of the support of one armed man. In this way 19,000 families produced an army of 28,000 men. He completed the grand canal, and under him the streets were elaborately paved.

Against this somewhat expensive rule discontent soon grew up, and when Napo induced the Emperor Rudolf to nominate him Imperial Vicar, his enemies began to move. Ottone Visconti had kept up a steady struggle for his rights and position, and had been aided by various mercenaries, and even by the Spanish troops of Alfonso of Castile.

The della Torre had grown careless with success, and this led to their being taken by surprise. The discontented nobles in the city banded together, and the Archbishop put himself at their head. They marched suddenly on their enemy and completely defeated the della Torre at Desio. Napo was himself taken prisoner and died in a cage, while Ottone Visconti became Lord of Milan.

He seems to have considered himself as ruling in his capacity of Archbishop, for his executive was ecclesiastical, not military. He had the right to appoint all the chief officials, the *podestà*, and the captain and *podestà* of the merchants. He was warmly supported by the nobility, who always preferred the Visconti to the della Torre. In return for this support the harsh statutes against the nobles were

repealed. Certain changes were made in the Constitution, and now for the first time we hear of the twelve *Sapientes*, beneath whom came the Council of the Eight Hundred.

For a time Ottone was not strong enough to stand alone. He was obliged to call in the help of a leader of mercenaries, William of Montferrat, whom he made captain-general for five years, later extended to ten. However, in 1282 the Archbishop excluded William from the city, and the death of the soldier following soon after freed the Visconti from any danger from that quarter.

By this time it became clear that the family could advance a step further on their road to dominion. The Archbishop might be considered as ruler by virtue of his office, but if the family could obtain secular power their position would be changed into something far more considerable and give hopes of its becoming more permanent. Accordingly, in 1287 Ottone proposed a new captain-general, and the choice fell upon his great-nephew, Matteo Visconti. The election was nominal, the term supposed to be for six months. But for five years Matteo contrived to be continually re-elected, and he ended by having the office conferred on him for five more years. Encouraged by these successes he went further, and his next piece of preferment was a true indication of the means whereby his family might rise to greatness. He succeeded in getting the Emperor, Adolf of Nassau, to appoint him Vicar of Lombardy. This was the beginning of that official connexion with the emperors which was one of the most powerful instruments of the Visconti.

Now came the critical moment in Milan. Matteo already acted as administrator for his great-uncle, and the city was accustomed to his rule. In 1295 Ottone died, but no objections were raised and no challenge issued to Matteo's continuance in power. He seems to have gone on quietly and successfully. In 1299 the Council confirmed his captaincy for another five years, and he was now given the

power to make peace or war ; the Emperor Albert, successor to Adolf, confirmed the Vicariate and all seemed securely established.

Some of the externals of power began to appear. Matteo styled himself Vicar-General of the King of the Romans in Lombardy, and Captain-General of the people of Milan, Como, Vercelli, Novara, Alessandria, and Casale. He lived in style, supported by the wealth which the family derived from their estates, and in the year 1300 he was able to give a magnificent wedding to his eldest son, Galeazzo, who married Beatrice d'Este, sister of the Marquis of Ferrara and young widow of Nono, Lord of Gallura. Galeazzo was created captain of the people, along with his father, for two years, a significant sign of the permeation of the hereditary principle.

Now, however, a sudden change came. The city itself was happier and more peaceful than it had been for a long time, and as far as can be seen no popular movement disturbed the Visconti. The rival family had for a while been forced to acquiesce, but they could not let their house be displaced without a further struggle. As the Visconti had buttressed their power with the imperial alliance it was easy for the della Torre to league the Guelfic cities against them. The details are obscure, but in 1302 the della Torre returned to Milan as private citizens, and Matteo's position became untenable. He withdrew for a while from the city and lived in complete retirement in the country. His sons left Milan also, Galeazzo going to his wife's relations at Ferrara, where his only son, Azzo, was born.

The della Torre were determined to take his place, and in 1307 Guido, head of their house, was made captain of the *popolani* for one year. He took advantage of his opportunity to try to consolidate his position on the lines usually followed when a family was endeavouring to impose itself on a weakening republic. At the close of his year of office an assembly was held of the Council of Eight

Hundred, the *credenza*, and the trades, numbering in all about 3,000 persons.

Guido made some excuse to go home, and in his absence his supporters brought forward a proposal that he should be elected captain of the *popolani* for life (a position Matteo had never attained), with full power to alter the statutes of the city. This was carried unanimously, and, in spite of pretended reluctance on his part, the office was forced upon him. He took up his residence in the Bidetto Vecchio and his cousin was elected Archbishop.

This appointment was destined to ruin the family, for it at once produced dissensions among them. The new Archbishop considered that he should lead the house, and a large body of his relations agreed. Guido had no intention of allowing this and arrested the whole of them.

At this moment the Emperor Henry VII appeared in Italy, intending to be crowned in Milan with the "Iron Crown" and to proceed to Rome. His coming was utilized by the Visconti with all the astuteness which was their marked characteristic. Matteo went to meet Henry at Asti, his friend Francesco Garbagnate, who was an intimate at Henry's Court, having prepared the way for his visit. His friendly, courteous ways made an excellent impression, and Henry allowed him to accompany the imperial army to Milan. There a great contrast was observed in the behaviour of the della Torre. As Guelfs they were not likely to receive the emperor with warmth, but Guido went further and was the last to appear to welcome Henry, showing himself surly and thoroughly hostile. The emperor remained in the city for some weeks, and the truth of what occurred during his stay is hard to discover. Some sort of plot seems to have been made against him. The della Torre were certainly the originators; whether Matteo concurred is unknown, though, on the face of it, such action is improbable, for he owed his return to Henry and had nothing to gain by plotting against him with the family foe. In

any case, the storm broke : the story of the plot was taken to Henry, who sent troops to the houses of della Torre and Visconti alike. Matteo got word of their approach and received them sitting peacefully in his courtyard, chatting to his household. He met them with fair words and, what appealed to them more, good wine and good food. Then, having thus demonstrated his friendliness, he went to pacify Henry.

The della Torre meanwhile were caught unawares. Some of them fled and others resisted and fought till they were cut down. Guido himself only escaped with difficulty by hiding himself in a monastery.

From this disaster the della Torre never recovered. Their prestige was gone ; they became exiles and their rivals were restored with all the additional advantages of imperial favour, for Henry marked his appreciation of Matteo's correct attitude towards him by creating him Imperial Vicar in Milan.

As a matter of course, Milan followed the emperor's lead. Matteo was once more elected Captain-General, and this time power was to pass definitely into the hands of the Visconti. Matteo began his second period of rule with a far stronger position than when he had crept upwards behind his great-uncle, the Archbishop. He begins now to figure as the first of a real dynasty.

CHAPTER III

MATTEO THE GREAT

Student at Bologna—Lord of Milan—Policy of aggression—Genoa, Cremona, Vicenza—Quarrel with the Papacy—Accusation of sorcery—Excommunication—Deputation of Milanese nobles to the Legate—Matteo's abdication.

MATTEO had in the beginning made his way entirely through his great-uncle's influence, and in these first years of rule we know very little about him apart from Ottone. He is known to have been a scholar at the famous University of Bologna. In the early thirteenth century there had studied in that city such great men as Rudolf of Hapsburg, cousin of the Emperor, Henry of Brandenburg, Giacomo Colonna of Rome, Amedeo of Savoy, and amongst these names we find that of Matteo Visconti of Milan. He was there as a student in 1288, being then about forty years of age, and having been for six years associated with his uncle Ottone in the lordship of Milan. He figures on the register as *vice-dominus mediolanensis*, but what he studied and for how long is unknown. He seems always to have kept up a friendly association with the university town, for later he acted as arbitrator between Bologna and her "exiles," and succeeded in making peace between them. When his eldest son married, Bologna sent a splendid wedding present of two horses, accompanied by two grooms with rich garments of scarlet, trimmed with many colours, the whole being valued at 4,000 lire Bolognese.

He was at the period of his rise to solitary power growing an old man. He was over sixty years of age, and perhaps for this reason he had associated Galeazzo with himself in

office, although known to be somewhat jealous of his son. Besides Galeazzo there were now four more grown-up sons—Marco, Luchino, Stefano (whose beautiful tomb exists in San Eustorgio), and Giovanni. This band of splendid young men was of the greatest assistance to Matteo, for they led his troops, occupied new territories, and maintained a solid family front. With them behind him Matteo felt able to embark on a policy of territorial aggression. Though successful at first, it was this policy which involved him in the famous quarrel with the Pope, which is one of the main features of his life.

Already, in 1317, he had assumed the title of Prince, or Lord, of Milan. He had allied himself with Can Grande della Scala, the great Ghibelline Lord of Verona. With Can Grande's help Matteo attacked Cremona, which, however, defended itself well and held out against the allies. Luchino Visconti was more successful at the head of his little army, with which he had been sent to attack Alessandria and Tortona. Both places were obliged to yield and were occupied by Luchino's troops. Next came an attack on Genoa. There the Guelfic faction was headed by Grimaldi, with whom Matteo made an alliance. The Ghibellines were headed by Doria and Spinola. The Guelfs, anxious to buy off Matteo, offered to carry through an agreement whereby Milanese goods should enter Genoa duty free. Matteo refused on the grounds that such an agreement was contrary to his alliance with Spinola. Marco went with a body of the Visconti troops to besiege the city, but was beaten off by the Guelfs, who had called Robert of Naples to their aid. This was followed in 1318 by a successful attack on Cremona, which was entered by night. In the same year Can Grande at last forced Vicenza to capitulate.

Matteo was now Lord of Milan, Pavia, Piacenza, Bergamo, Alessandria and Tortona, Como and Novara. The Emperor Henry VII had, in 1311, made him Imperial Vicar of Milan, but on Henry's death the Empire was disputed by two rival

claimants. The Pope took advantage of the strife and declared the Empire to be vacant. He summoned Matteo, in 1317, to abandon the title of Imperial Vicar, which Matteo did, calling himself merely Lord of Milan.

This was the climax of his power. In view of his marked Ghibelline views it was not likely that the Pope would allow him to consolidate and increase his possessions. John XXII from his palace at Avignon now summoned both Matteo and Can Grande to "obey the Church." Both replied that they could not recognize Papal authority, for they held their power from the Emperor. This amounted to a declaration of independence and was bound to lead to open war, which, indeed, speedily followed.

In the struggle it is strange to see how temporal and spiritual weapons were combined. In the age of these early Italian potentates it was extremely difficult for any prince to make clear his position, while the Pope could always rouse up doubts amongst his opponents' subjects by introducing spiritual questions. It was this power which militated so strongly against Matteo. To begin with, John was able to attack Matteo's title to be Vicar-General of Lombardy, owing to two decrees of his predecessor, Pope Clement V, declaring the Emperor to be a vassal of the Pope in virtue of the oath that he swore on coronation, and further declaring that the Pope, during a vacancy in the Empire, had a right to appoint the Vicar. At this time the Papacy was settled at Avignon and already subject to the influence of France. The Empire was on the death of Henry VII disputed by Louis of Bavaria and Frederick of Austria. The Pope took advantage of the dispute to appoint as Vicar of Lombardy Robert of Naples, a man who intended to use the troubled state of affairs to advance his own interests.

In June of 1320 Cardinal Bertrando del Poggetto, acting as Papal Legate, summoned Matteo to appear and answer for his having unlawfully taken the position of Vicar-General and, "to the greater displeasure of the Holy See dared to

call himself Lord of Milan." He was also bidden to allow the della Torre to return, and at once refused, saying that there were in the city "more than fifty nobles who would rather eat their own sons than allow that family to return." An army was sent against him commanded by Philip of Valois, but it failed to accomplish anything at all. Further charges were now brought forward and Matteo was accused of heresy, as well as contumacy, in February, 1321. He was now summoned to appear before the court of inquiry held by Archbishop Aicardo, together with his sons, and all their aiders and abettors. No notice was taken of this summons by Matteo and sentence was accordingly pronounced against him. He was deprived of all "privileges, immunities, fiefs, honours, and concessions of all sorts made to him by the Church or the Empire," and he was further threatened with excommunication and deposition unless he appeared before the court to be held by the Archbishop of Milan at Bergoglio near Alessandria. Matteo did now send procurators to the court, but declared himself unable to appear in person, having "passed his seventy-fourth year, and being moreover afflicted with *podraga* (gout) and with 'sore feet.'" These excuses were not accepted, for to the Archbishop's knowledge these ailments did not prevent Matteo from "riding in and out of the city of Milan every day." Then instead of Matteo there appeared Marco Visconti at the head of so large a body of troops that the Archbishop fled in terror. He reached Valenza, and there summoning several bishops, abbots, and juris consults, issued the second sentence of the Church, March 22, 1322.

This was based upon very serious grounds, the material question having given place to the spiritual. The charges against Matteo and his sons included both heresy and sorcery, and even at this early date those vague stories of evil practices and strange secret doings which have clung so persistently around Visconti memories begin to appear. The accusation of sorcery is interesting chiefly for the light

it throws on the superstitions of the age, and it has acquired some additional importance from the fact that Dante's name was brought in, and implications made against him as a "magician." The case really rested on the story of one man, Bartolomeo Cagnolato. He was a man who for years had been an outlaw from Milan for debt, and in February, 1320, he appeared at the Papal Court at Avignon. He was a friend of one of the della Torre, many of whose partizans had taken up their abode at Avignon, and he had some reputation as a sorcerer. Somehow he was brought to the notice of the Pope, who heard his story and ordered him to tell it before a secret commission. This commission was composed of three persons, two of whom were nephews of the Pope. It can in no sense be called an impartial body ; it was intended to collect evidence to be used against the Visconti and to enable the Pope to combine ecclesiastical and military weapons in the attack he had already planned against them.

The story told by Bartolomeo falls into two parts. At the first sitting he said that in October, 1319, he had been summoned to appear before Matteo at Milan, and given a safe conduct to protect him against his debtors. On arrival at the palazzo he found with Matteo, Scotto, one of the judges of the *credenza*, and the doctor, Pelecane. Scotto produced a silver statue, inscribed on the forehead with the Pope's name, and on the breast with the word "AMAYONE," which Bartolomeo explained to the commission was the name of a devil, "Mammon," and which meant that rites were to be performed in the name of the devil's master, Satan. Scotto told him that the statue was to be "fumigated," but Bartolomeo declared that he knew nothing of this operation. Scotto then asked him for a sugar of "mapello," explained to be a poisonous herb, but Bartolomeo asserted he knew of no such poison. He was then sent away. A month later he was again sent for to Matteo's presence, and asked if he would take the statue to

one Pietro Nani, of Verona. He refused to do so, and went home again. Later he met Scotto in the street and went to his house to explain some magic formula. He then asked Scotto about the silver image, and Scotto produced it and showed him a fresh name inscribed "MEROYN," which he thought must be that of another devil. Scotto told him that the rites were going well, and were to last for sixty-two nights, after which the statue would be melted. Bartolomeo explained to the commission that this probably meant that the person represented by the statue would suffer from its melting.

After this sitting a payment of one hundred florins was made secretly to Bartolomeo by the Pope. Eight months later he again appeared before the commission, now consisting of two persons only, for Bertrando had been sent as Legate to begin the crusade against the Visconti. Bartolomeo now stated that he had returned to Milan in March, and had been seized and put to the torture by Scotto for having been to Avignon. Bartolomeo had protested that he had gone only to cure Cardinal Orsini of an illness, and produced a forged letter in support. This did not avail him much, and after having been imprisoned for forty-two days he was ransomed by his relations. He had then received a message from Galeazzo Visconti asking him to go to Piacenza. He did so, and was told that the affair of the image was not going well, and his help was required. Galeazzo said that the Pope was laying waste Lombardy, and that to destroy him would be an act of charity. Bartolomeo asked for time to reflect, and in reply Galeazzo told him to reflect well, for he had "already sent to Messer Dante Aligheri of Florence to assist in this affair." Bartolomeo replied that Dante had better do the work, and Galeazzo said, in answer, that he did not wish to employ Dante, as he had complete confidence in Bartolomeo's qualifications. After two days' reflection Bartolomeo said that he would do what he could, and explained to the

commission that he only said this to deceive the Visconti. He was then given the statue. At this point he undid a bundle and produced a silver statue before the commission, with the aforesaid words inscribed on it. There his evidence ended. Further payments were made and continued for nine years, during which time he remained at Avignon. His story was never published to the world, though the charges of witchcraft were founded solely on his evidence, and the report of the commission has remained in the Vatican archives until brought into prominence by modern writers.

One or two points should be noticed. The whole tale is that of only one man, who on his own showing had played a double part. As such, perhaps, it was not used by the Papacy, which conformed to the rule that two witnesses were needed to prove a charge. Further, Bartolomeo never accounts for the behaviour of the Visconti in continuing their attempts to employ a man who persistently refused their offers. Nor does he explain how Galeazzo came to trust with the image a man who had been imprisoned and tortured for negotiating with Avignon, nor how he escaped and brought it safely to the Papal Court. Further the accusation against Dante, though quite seriously discussed by a recent writer, rests on the very flimsiest grounds. Bartolomeo says Galeazzo told him that he had written to Dante ; even if Galeazzo did say so, it may have been a mere threat to induce Bartolomeo to accept the offer. If Galeazzo did write to Dante there is no sort of proof that Dante ever accepted, or would ever have thought of doing so. Apparently all that can be said in support of such an accusation is that Dante was a close friend of Can Grande of Verona, and a known enemy of the Papacy, and that at Can Grande's Court dwelt also that Pietro Nani who was said to be a skilled magician. In any case, Dante was not then at Verona, but at Ravenna. The whole story, indeed, only shows the extraordinary credulity

of the age. Matteo and Galeazzo may have tried these methods of injuring their great enemy. Other sorcery trials have all the same features—the use of images, and employment of formulas supposed to bring about death ; they were common not only in Italy but throughout Europe. In any case, whether true or not, the story was meant to arouse prejudice against Matteo, and the progress of events showed this clearly.

In this connexion it is interesting to find that the intercourse between Dante and the Visconti seems quite imaginary. The whole story is probably based on the political enmity between the Papacy, the Visconti, and Dante's patron, Can Grande of Verona. There is no certain knowledge that Dante ever met any of the Visconti, much less that he corresponded confidentially with them, and the references to them in his works are quite superficial. The chief one is to be found in the *Purgatorio* where he meets and talks with Nino of Gallura. Nino complains of his wife's re-marriage to Galeazzo Visconti. He refers to the many misfortunes of the Visconti, and says that Beatrice (his wife) would have done better had she never exchanged the blazoning of Gallura's cock for that of the Visconti viper. Galeazzo, it may be noted, was singled out from his brothers and given special attention by the Papal accusers, though his character and conduct were better than those of Luchino. He was reported to be addicted to the worship of images and to the study of omens, and to keep waxen figures through which he wrought harm to his enemies. But all these charges are unsubstantiated, and the evidence against him was given in secret, and never published.

The second charge, that of heresy, is in a way of more interest to modern thought. The Visconti were to show themselves an exceptionally brilliant and intellectual family. They were also utterly careless of the opinion of others. Matteo, apparently, and his sons with him, did not accept the verdicts of the Church with regard to either

doctrine or morals, and did not scruple to say so publicly. They were charged with having denied the doctrine of the Resurrection, and with having declared that it was not "reasonable" for the Church to forbid immorality. Luchino in particular was accused of putting his theories into practice at the expense of the nuns in the cities he had captured.

Accordingly, as heretics, Matteo, his sons, and his nephews fell under the ban. Their possessions were declared confiscated, and plenary absolution from all sins was promised to all who would take up arms against them. In a Bull of February 23, 1322, this crusade was proclaimed against the Visconti, their adherents were summoned to appear before the Church, and Milan itself was placed under an interdict.

Troops, headed by Raimondo da Cardona and Henry of Austria, moved on the city from different directions. They were however driven off by the Visconti armies, led by Marco and Galeazzo. Nor did the outlying towns desert their lord. The Legate had summoned individuals from many of these places, and the list shows the wide range of Visconti influence. Many individuals were named in Pavia, Alessandria, Valenza, Tortona, Vercelli, Milana, Lodi, Cremona, Crema, Como, Castelnovo. Very few, however, obeyed the summons.

There is an interesting passage in Fiamma concerning the action of the Papacy. On the one hand it was held that the Pope ought not to engage in war, his concerns were with spiritual matters. Nor should he attack others; he had no claim on Milan and it was not just to begin to war on her. On the other hand, the Visconti were adjudged heretics, and in consequence their lands came under an interdict; and here the Pope might be said to be using spiritual weapons in a spiritual matter. The effect on the Milanese was soon seen. The people did not, perhaps, differentiate between the Papal weapons; they saw that they were suffering through the quarrels of the Visconti.

In consequence, Milan itself did not prove loyal. The people murmured against the inconvenience of the interdict. They were also discontented by reason of the "imposts and taxes" which the little wars had caused Matteo to impose "four times in every year." Eventually, in April, 1322, a deputation of twelve was sent by the city to wait on the Cardinal Legate. Bertrando begged them to depose Matteo and rid the city of his domination and of that of the della Torre, which might replace it. Apparently he convinced the twelve; they were strongly urged to fall in with his suggestions by Francesco da Garbagnate, who had acquired a personal grudge against Matteo for not making him captain of the militia. The Legate's terms were agreed to.

On their return to the city the deputation first went to Matteo and informed him that, for the good of the city, they had decided on peace with the Church. Matteo gave them no spoken reply, merely turned his back flatly upon them. On this "they went out and moved all the citizens to cry, 'Peace, peace.'"

Matteo, for his part, had no intention of peace being obtained at his expense. He called a Parliament of the chief Ghibellines of Lombardy to consider the matter. The deputation of twelve was summoned before them and severely reprimanded. Galeazzo was recalled from Piacenza; but Matteo probably knew that the forces against him were too strong; appeals to the superstition of his subjects were all the more dangerous for being intangible. The action that he proceeded to take has been interpreted as either a confession of weakness and defeat or a master stroke of craft in the substitution of a more popular personality than his own. In any case, he now declared that he wished to give himself up to a life of retirement and devotion. He solemnly gave over the government to his eldest son, Galeazzo. This was in any case a blow to the opposition. The Legate had urged on the deputation

of twelve the importance of obtaining Matteo's resignation, with the intention of replacing his authority by that of the Pope. Matteo now simply transferred his power to the next representative of his family. He himself went to pay a visit to the Church of St. Giovanni Battista at Monza. He set out to return to Milan, and, apparently with great suddenness, fell ill on the way and died peacefully on June 24, 1322.

Fiamma gives us a brief account of his personality and appearance. He tells us that Matteo was tall, fair-haired, and blue-eyed. He was physically extremely strong, and was reputed to be able to break a horse-shoe in two with his bare hands. He was generally considered to be humane, patient, good-tempered, and very prudent, and certain of his actions in the various crises of his life bear out this judgment. In contrast to the evil reputation given him at the Papal court, Fiamma lays stress on the good name he enjoyed with the local clergy of Milan, to whom he was a generous patron. He was said to be strict in his religious observances, and to see that all his followers and servants made their confessions regularly. This of course is quite inconsistent with the account given of him at the so-called inquiry into his sorcery, but it must be remembered that the inquiry was secret, no evidence was asked for on Matteo's behalf, and the Papal court, far away at Avignon, had to depend on the information of spies, and interested agents.

CHAPTER IV

GALEAZZO AND AZZO

Difficulties of Galeazzo—Family dissensions—Emperor's intervention—Imprisonment of Galeazzo—Release and death—Azzo succeeds—Defies Louis—Peace with Pope—Quiet rule in Milan—Success in restoring dominions and in suppressing family dissensions.

THE personal difficulties of Matteo were not handed on to his son. Galeazzo summoned the Grand Council and was by them unanimously acclaimed as ruler in succession to his father. This was important as a recognition of primogeniture, and, as the first transition of power is usually the most difficult, the Visconti may well have felt that they had gained much ground. Galeazzo, however, found only too soon that trouble in another form was upon him. He intended to carry on the struggle against the Pope, but a member of his own family—his cousin Lodrisio—appeared as head of the opposing party. Lodrisio seems to have objected chiefly to the concentration of the family power in the hands of the eldest son. He succeeded in bribing Galeazzo's mercenaries, and after three days of fighting in the city Galeazzo, with his brothers Luchino, Marco, and Stefano, were driven out, November, 1322. Lodrisio, in a sense, took over the rule, though the Signoria was granted for one year to one "Jean de la Torre," a Savoyard, who pretended to be a member of the della Torre family. The Legate, indeed, openly supporting the della Torre, ranged himself definitely on their side in the revival of the faction fight. The Guelfs outside the city seized their opportunity. Most of the Visconti acquisitions regained their independence, but the Papal Legate secured Parma and Piacenza. Piacenza, indeed, was lost

to the Visconti by Galeazzo's own behaviour. He fatally offended Versuzio Lando, one of the chief nobles of the town, the story being that he, quite unsuccessfully, made love to Lando's beautiful wife, Bianchina. Lando allied himself with the Papal Legate and drove out Visconti's men in October, 1322. It was on this occasion that Galeazzo's wife, Beatrice d'Este, is said to have saved their little son from falling into the hands of the Papal troops. "Having the firmness to remain exposed to insults in her palace and throwing money to the victorious mob, thus keeping them occupied while Azzone was in haste sent away, her virtues being so much respected by the enemy that they escorted her with honour outside Piacenza." The Papal army now threatened Alessandria and Tortona. This was not at all to the taste of Lodrisio, who, seeing the ruin with which his action threatened the dynasty, retreated and allowed Galeazzo to return as a private citizen in December, 1322.

Immediately the nobles, alarmed at the revival of the della Torre in Lombardy, rallied to his support. Within three weeks he was declared "protector of the city of Milan," against which the Papal army now advanced. The siege that followed was a great strain on Galeazzo's resources, and in despair he applied to the Emperor Louis of Bavaria. Louis was not recognized as Emperor by the Pope, who had at this juncture appointed Robert of Naples Imperial Vicar in Lombardy. If this appointment were allowed to stand Louis would clearly lose all influence in Italy. Accordingly, he decided to help the Visconti in their struggle, and sent troops who raised the siege.

Galeazzo was able to profit by the help sent him and by the divisions among the Papal troops. He succeeded in inflicting a serious defeat on the "Crusaders." His brother Marco seems to have possessed real military gifts, and at the head of the Visconti forces he issued from the city and won a complete victory at Vaprio on the Adda, in 1324, the Crusading leader, Raimondo da Cardona, being taken

prisoner. Before the year was out the whole district had been cleared of the invaders, and Monza itself was recovered in December. There Galeazzo began to build the famous prisons, probably with the idea that Milan itself was not a good place in which to keep powerful enemies.

For the moment Galeazzo was saved, but he felt the position was too dangerous and began to negotiate for a peace with John XXII, offering in return for permission to hold Milan as Imperial Vicar to keep five hundred horse at the disposal of the Pope. These negotiations, though forwarded by John XXII himself, were brought to nothing by Robert of Naples, who wished to make himself master of Lombardy.

Meanwhile the family dissensions broke out more fiercely than before. Marco Visconti, next in age to Galeazzo, turned against his brother and made common cause with Lodrisio. The two together plotted to overthrow Galeazzo, who in vain tried to bribe them with offers of huge portions of the archiepiscopal fiefs. Finally Marco sent an appeal to the Emperor Louis of Bavaria begging him to come to Milan and depose Galeazzo from the Vicariate. The Emperor found it convenient to listen to this appeal. In 1327 he arrived in Milan, and though at first he confirmed Galeazzo as Vicar, he followed up this action by summoning a council, at which he declared himself aggrieved with the Visconti's behaviour, and notably with the negotiations with the Pope. Galeazzo, his brother Giovanni, and his son Azzo were all imprisoned in the dungeons of Monza, which Galeazzo himself had recently built. Stefano, the youngest brother, had just died, as the result of a drinking bout. The old story, now discredited, was that Stefano acted as cup-bearer at the banquet of the Emperor Louis, and being bidden to taste the wine did so and fell dead, the cup being presumably poisoned. Marco remained at liberty and set out with the Emperor to Rome.

At Rome Louis was duly crowned Emperor, but not, of

course, by the hands of the Pope John, who was far away at Avignon. Now, indeed, fresh trouble was to arise, for the Franciscans, who had come into conflict with John over the question of apostolic poverty, declared him to be a heretic. The Roman populace supported the crusade against the absentee head of the Church. A friar was elected by the people and clergy of Rome and proclaimed himself Pope Nicholas V. The schism thus begun was to produce far-reaching effects, and it reacted almost at once on the position of the Emperor. Louis failed in his attack upon Robert of Naples ; he found that the partizans of the Papacy rallied in support of John XXII. Rome soon tired of him and he prepared to withdraw from Italy. His route, of course, would bring him once more past Milan, where the Visconti rule seemed to have fallen completely into abeyance.

A new form of government had been set up in the city by Louis himself, consisting of a council of twenty-four, nominated by him, and a governor, William of Montfort. Galeazzo was still imprisoned at Monza, though Azzo and Giovanni had been released.

Galeazzo's enemies seemed to have triumphed completely. Amongst them it is strange to have to reckon Can Grande of Verona, the Ghibelline ally of his father. Can Grande had his own designs on the lordship of Lombardy and stirred up the Emperor against the Visconti. One friend remained, Castruccio of Lucca. He worked hard to induce Louis to set Galeazzo free, and failing in his persuasions himself abandoned the Emperor. His departure was at once effective and Louis liberated his prisoners in August, 1328. Galeazzo set off for Lucca to thank Castruccio, but fell ill on the way and died.

The personality of this member of the dynasty is difficult to make out. His actual period of rule was short, and his whole career mixed up with that of his father and the quarrels with his brother and cousin. He is described by the chroniclers as being of a pleasing appearance. " He was

round-faced and pink and white. He was elegant, brave, and liberal, but careless of religion," and indeed had been specially marked out for Papal censure. He was energetic, but his military successes achieved against the family foes were mostly due to Marco.

His disasters had not been caused by incompetence on his part. It was natural that the other members of the family, not fully conscious of the fact that a dynasty could only be secured through the united support lent to the head of the family, should resent his assumption of authority. By taking part against him they weighted the balance on behalf of his already powerful enemies. The Pope was the chief opponent, both of the House and of Galeazzo personally, who had been included in his father's condemnation. To the Pope were to be added the della Torre and the Guelf party. The House of Anjou joined their company, for Robert already held Naples, Provence, and Piedmont, and could he but get a footing in Lombardy he might aspire to be a King of Italy. Such a combination was formidable in itself. When the discontented members of the Visconti family, and his ally the Lord of Verona added to Galeazzo's difficulties by setting the Emperor against him, his fall was inevitable. It was fortunate for the dynasty that the loyalty of Castruccio procured his pardon in the nick of time. Though Galeazzo himself died, his son Azzo was allowed to take his place, and was made Imperial Vicar in January, 1329.

His relations now seem to have grasped the necessity of supporting the new head. The whole family assembled at Pisa and drew up a letter to the Council of Twenty-four, set up by Louis in Milan, announcing the succession of Azzo to his father's office. The Anti-Pope, Nicholas V, gave aid by appointing Giovanni Visconti Cardinal and Legate in Lombardy, a step which induced John XXII to issue from Avignon a sentence of excommunication on Azzo and Giovanni "as heretics and rebels."

Undismayed by this, however, in February, 1329, Azzo entered Milan in triumph, escorted by a troop of German cavalry. The clergy went out in procession to greet him and the Council of Twenty-four proclaimed a "jubilee." The real enthusiasm shown by the people was no doubt due to the pleasure felt at getting rid of the foreign domination, which had been extremely unpopular.

Azzo set to work to turn the Duke of Teck, one of Louis's generals, out of Monza, which involved him in a quarrel with Louis himself, who came and besieged Milan. Azzo held out with complete success, and, remaining polite to his overlord, sent him every day choice food and wines for his private table. Eventually Louis recognized that he was wasting his time and came to terms. Azzo was confirmed as Imperial Vicar; he was to exercise his jurisdiction in both city and country, either in person or through a *podestà*. He was to draw a salary of 10,000 gold florins, to undertake a yearly payment, and to maintain two hundred horse for the imperial service in Italy.

At the same time Azzo succeeded where his father and grandfather had failed. John XXII was weary of the struggle with the Visconti. He was also extremely anxious as to the amount of support likely to be given to the Anti-Pope, and was wishful to secure as many allies as he could. Negotiations began in September, 1329, and were brought to a successful close. Peace was agreed between the parties. The Pope made Giovanni, who had abandoned the Cardinalate conferred by Nicholas, Bishop of Novara and administrator of Milan, on condition that the Visconti undertook to pay a pension to the aged Archbishop Aicardo.

In the following year (March, 1330) came the final acknowledgment of Azzo's position. The *podestà* summoned the great Council of Nine Hundred, ostensibly to confirm the statutes which had recently been drafted. In reality the meeting proceeded to recognize Azzo as ruler and confer on him full authority. "He has power to bind the commune

and citizens of Milan both in the business of the commune and in any business whatever touching the Lord Azzo himself or any other of his name, and in private matters and in matters touching individuals to bind the commune itself and the citizens of the body corporate and university of Milan and their goods."

Three speeches were given, all in his favour ; the proposal was voted upon and carried. He was now *Dominus generalis et perpetuus*. He had full jurisdiction, power to pledge the revenue, to make new statutes, to annul and amend the old, to make treaties and alliances. The sole province in which he was not given full control was finance. The commune was to retain the right of assenting to the imposition of new taxes or the abolition of old ones, and it kept some control over the administration and the issue of the coinage. It is noteworthy in this connexion that for the first time coins were issued bearing on them the name of the ruler of the city.

Azzo's marriage to a Savoyard princess followed shortly after, and gave occasion for fresh festivities. The ceremony was held in San Ambrogio with great pomp, and marked the reconciliation of the Visconti with the Pope.

During the nine years that followed Milan enjoyed prosperity. Azzo himself met with less resistance to his rule than might have been expected. The new lord was popular, and he was successful in restoring the prestige of his House. The territory which had been lost in the troubles of Galeazzo's reign was gradually won back until the Visconti's rule once more extended from Bergamo to Cremona. He became Lord of Pavia, Bergamo, Cremona, Vercelli, Vigevano, and San Donnino within two years of his father's death. Then came dominion over Como and Lecco, where he built the lovely bridge over the Adda. Finally, Lodi and Piacenza completed the tale of his cities. Within the family he had to repair the evils wrought by dissension, and here he was at once faced with a difficult

situation. Trouble threatened him from Marco, who was unlikely to give to his nephew the submission he had denied to his elder brother. He began to get together a band of paid adherents. Then one morning the news spread through the city that Marco had been found dead in the courtyard of the Palazzo. No one knew then or afterwards what had occurred. Naturally, it was said on the one hand that he had been murdered by being thrown from the window, and the Florentine Villari spread this version. Others thought his death was due to natural causes, and others again said that he had killed himself. In any case, his death caused no trouble to Azzo, and no rising or disturbance took place.

Relations with the Papacy were not altogether comfortable. The Pope found Azzo lukewarm in the perpetual contest with the Emperor and had occasion to reprove him solemnly. Giovanni, too, gave offence, for he refused to persecute those of the clergy who had supported the Anti-Pope Nicholas. He would not expel those who had disregarded the interdict, and he allowed the friars to continue to preach against the luxury of Avignon. Azzo showed great skill in playing off the Emperor against the Pope, and acted as a go-between in the efforts which Louis made at reconciliation. By the end of 1330 the Pope was convinced of Azzo's good faith, and a formal peace was proclaimed between them. This was followed by a league against Robert of Naples, whose ambition threatened all Northern Italy. Savoy, Montferrat, and Milan united against him, but at this juncture an even greater danger appeared : John of Bohemia suddenly crossed the Alps at the head of a large force and proceeded to attack the northern towns. John was one of the firebrands of Europe, carrying war into all quarters. He had made an expedition against Poland in 1327 and had just concluded another against Lithuania. He had gone to Innsbruck to negotiate a marriage between his son and Margaret Maultasche,

heiress of Tirol. While there a deputation came to him from Brescia asking him to come and help that city against the attacks of Mastino della Scala. John lent a ready ear to this request and at the end of 1330 entered Brescia. He then proceeded to conquer Bergamo, Cremona, Parma, Modena, and Vercelli. Azzo, full of anxiety for his possessions, sent to ask the Pope whether this invasion had his support. Finding this was not the case, he meditated resistance, but Charles of Bohemia arriving with large reinforcements for his father, Azzo saw no alternative but to come to terms. He succeeded in making an agreement with John, who recognized Azzo as Vicar. In June, 1331, John was recalled to Bohemia and left Charles installed at Parma. The king gone, North Italy took heart, and a league of Verona, Mantua, Ferrara, and Milan was formed. The allies sent an army against Charles, but were defeated at the battle of San Felice. The Bohemians however suffered such heavy losses that their position became very unsafe, and Charles retired home and appealed to his father for help. Brescia was taken by Mastino della Scala, and Azzo Visconti captured Bergamo and Pavia. John of Bohemia arrived with reinforcements, only to be totally defeated at Ferrara in April, 1333. He and his son withdrew across the Alps, but the league continued in being and now found itself involved with the Papacy, which had secretly supported King John. Azzo Visconti seized Martinengo, a Papal fief, and supported Bologna, which burst out into revolt against the misgovernment of Bertrando, the Legate. Bertrando had acted throughout as the ally of Bohemia but the league had refused to include him in the armistice signed on John's departure. John XXII found himself unable to act effectively. In vain he tried to stir up Azzo against the lords of Como and Vercelli and Bergamo. Azzo had no intention of turning out these lords in order that the Papacy might enter into possession. He refused to act. He knew that the towns would prefer to come under Visconti rule

rather than share with Piacenza the misgovernment of Papal officials. Finally, in 1334 he attacked Cremona, which was still held by John of Bohemia, and succeeded in taking the city. When at the end of the year the old Pope died it was clear that the Visconti were stronger and more threatening than they had ever been. They were becoming a real power in Lombardy.

While Azzo throve as regards Northern Italy there still remained the original thorn in the side of the family. Lodrisio, now an old man, was not too old for mischief, and enlisted the support of Mastino della Scala, who had quarrelled with Azzo. He planned a great attack on the person of his cousin, but he was detected in his plot and forced to fly to Verona; there he took advantage of the peace made between Verona and Venice to enlist the disbanded mercenaries. He formed a company of Swiss and Germans, called them the "Company of St. George," and in 1339 crossed the Adda. After a fierce fight at Parabiago his forces were overwhelmed and he himself, with his two sons, taken prisoner. They were not put to death, but merely imprisoned in one of the Visconti fortresses. With this final success Azzo's life closed, for in August of the same year he fell ill with the gout and died, being himself only thirty-seven years old and leaving no child behind him.

He was one of the best of the Visconti, and seems to have been universally liked and well spoken of. In appearance he was of medium height, rather inclined to stoutness. Like his father he was rosy faced, with exceptionally fair hair. His manners were open and genial and his disposition cheerful. He was one of the few members of the family who was both religious and moral, his married life with Caterina of Savoy having been most happy. His justice was applauded by his subjects, who found him merciful and generous, though at the same time he knew how to keep order. He was uniformly successful in his enterprises, and won back territory without bloodshed or apparent difficulty.

Indeed, his gifts must have been of a high order to have brought about the happy developments of his reign.

Under him great improvements were brought about in the state of the city. He cleansed the streets and made gutters, which by utilizing the rain water helped to purify the drains. He diverted also two swiftly running streams, called the Nirone and the Camtarana, to supplement the gutters, and possibly in this way assisted in the immunity which Milan was to enjoy from the plague in the next reign. He rebuilt the city walls, and over the gates placed the sign of the viper in marble. He built himself a beautiful palace with a great hall, where Giotto was employed to execute the frescoes. This hall had a roof of blue and gold, and the pictures on the walls represented rather a mixed collection of "Heroes"—Hector and Attila, Charlemagne and Æneas, and mythical members of the House of Visconti itself. Other artists were employed on the palace, including Balducci the sculptor. In the courtyard was a menagerie full of animals strange to Italy, including lions and monkeys. He also had a large aviary and a fish-pond, with a fountain of lions' heads gushing out water, and in the grounds was a beautiful model of the gate of Carthage. Indeed, he seems to have had a genuine love of beautiful things and was fortunate enough to be able to gratify his tastes. Milan gained much from the rule of a prince who possessed so many good qualities and who did so much to make the city both prosperous and beautiful.

CHAPTER V

ARCHBISHOP GIOVANNI

Joint rule with Luchino—Trouble with nephews—Luchino's difficulties and death—Rule of Visconti made hereditary—Acquisitions of Giovanni—Account of Visconti territories, how gained and when—Bologna and the Visconti—Genoa acquired—Position of Venice—War with Milan—Methods and government of Visconti in their possessions—Extension of Milanese.

A CURIOUS situation was ushered in by the death of Azzo (1339) without heirs. The Council General elected as *signori generali* his two uncles, Luchino and Archbishop Giovanni, the sole remaining sons of Matteo the Great. The pacification which Azzo had effected with the Pope was renewed, both the Visconti were recognized by Benedict XII as Imperial Vicars, and the Papal sentences pronounced against them formerly were declared null and void. The old Archbishop, Aircardo, was dead, and Giovanni had been elected in his place by the Chapter, but it was not till 1342 that the Pope recognized him. He was now allowed to make formal resignation of his bishopric of Novara and to assume the full dignities of Archbishop of Milan.

Giovanni is one of the most remarkable of the Visconti. He possessed all the cleverness and subtlety which ran through the family, but he combined with them better qualities too.

Unfortunately the fame of the whole family has suffered from the ill-repute brought upon it by the later members. An impression has been created that the race was corrupt and wicked, tainted with decadence, and that its history is chiefly a record of crime. Such a view is, as might be expected, quite incorrect. It is doubtful whether any

House could rise from small beginnings to such greatness were its members the cruel and wicked tyrants which ignorance has believed all the Visconti to have been. Cruelty amounting to madness, and perhaps actually due to insanity, was shortly to appear in the House and in the end to destroy it, but as yet there were no signs of this, and the career of Archbishop Giovanni is a pleasant chapter in the history of Milan.

During Luchino's lifetime the two shared rule together. Luchino was not as popular as his predecessor Azzo. Before his accession to power he had been a man of bad life. He kept low company, drank, rioted all night, and slept all day. As in the case of Henry V of England, it is supposed that power worked a reformation : he became very industrious and showed marked ability in finance. He was just, but apt to give way to violence—a trait which was to show itself so fatally in the later Visconti. His career was destined to be short and troubled.

He suspected that his nephews' ministers had enriched themselves at the expense of the State. Prominent among them was Francesco Pusterla, whose wife, Margherita, was reported to be the loveliest woman in the city. Chroniclers usually prefer picturesque motives in accounting for the actions of their rulers, and we may believe or not, as we choose, that behind Luchino's zeal for purity in financial administration lay a love for Margherita which she indignantly rebuffed. Francesco certainly became one of the leading spirits in a conspiracy which was discovered. Francesco, Margherita, and their sons were all beheaded, and the whole plot so thoroughly stamped out that Azario declared the Milanese nobles would never dare to conspire again. Besides the nobles, Luchino also believed there were actually implicated his own nephews, Matteo, Bernabò, and Galeazzo, the sons of his dead brother Stefano. For long he did nothing against them, but eight years later he suddenly revived the charges and ordered them into banish-

ment. Even the Archbishop could not afford them adequate protection, and whether guilty or innocent the three young princes thought it best to depart. Matteo had married one of the Gonzagas of Mantua, and went to that city ; the other two went farther afield, to France and to the Holy Land. Luchino then brought into prominence his own son, the illegitimate Buzio, who seems to have been a brilliant young man, but who achieved no great success in Milan. The time allowed him, indeed, was not long. In 1349 evil reports were brought to Luchino, then ill with the gout, as to the behaviour of his third wife, Elisabetta Fieschi, who had recently gone on a visit to Venice. She travelled with extraordinary pomp and splendour, and being young and, as rumour went, very flighty, had given occasion to much talk. The chroniclers are unanimous in their account of her voyage up the Po, accompanied by ladies-in-waiting whose behaviour was as bad as her own. Arriving in Venice for the festivities in connexion with Ascension Day, she continued to enjoy herself with freedom. The younger of Stefano's sons, the banished Galeazzo, had been in Venice at the time and was implicated in the scandal. On her return journey to Milan "some austere matrons informed her husband of the disgraceful conduct of Elisabetta and her ladies." The tale was told that Elisabetta, alarmed by the reports that reached her, and hearing of the punishment that her husband was preparing for her, saved herself by poisoning him. In any case, news suddenly arrived at the Milanese camp before Genoa that Luchino was dead. Buzio, who had been ruling Lodi, was unable to maintain his position without his father's support, and promptly made for Venice, where he lived and died in poverty. Elisabetta herself also left Milan with her son Luchino Novello and never returned. It seems to have been admitted that the boy was not Luchino's son, but possibly the child of Galeazzo di Stefano ; and though he was born in wedlock, feeling was too strong. It was considered that he ranked as of

illegitimate descent and was in consequence barred from the succession. He never had any chance of successfully bringing forward his claims, though he was destined to cause trouble as an enemy of the established branch.

Luchino during his nine years of rule had extended the boundaries of the State. He had acquired Asti, Bobbio, Parma, Crema, Tortona, Novara, and Alessandria, some of which had indeed been under Matteo's influence, but had been lost again in the disasters after his death. He had made war on the Pisans and had obtained an indemnity of 100,000 florins from them. In 1348, while the rest of Italy was devastated by the plague, Milan remained free, possibly owing to Azzo's sanitary measures. It was under Luchino that the *plebs* were freed from the obligation to serve in the army, a measure which, while it enabled the population to devote itself to trade, paved the way for the use of mercenaries, who were later to be such a curse to Milan.

Archbishop Giovanni was now sole ruler, and he exercised supremacy in both the political and ecclesiastical spheres. He was universally respected and liked, and his influence obtained an important addition to the security of the dynasty. The Council in recognizing him as *Dominus Generalis*, for the first time declared the office hereditary. The succession was stated to lie in the legitimate male heirs of Matteo I, and these would be the three sons of Stefano—Matteo, Bernabò, and Galeazzo. "The male descendants of Matteo I, Visconti, born in lawful wedlock, shall be in perpetuity lords of the city and diocese and jurisdiction of Milan."

The three young men were recalled to Milan, and their uncle granted them each a palace to live in, but allowed them no share in the administration. Apparently they were on excellent terms with Giovanni, for we hear no more of internal dissensions. Indeed, such was the peace and security now reigning that Giovanni felt himself able to release the old conspirator Lodrisio, who emerged from

Monza and spent the last years of his life in freedom, but not in quietude.

Giovanni also came to terms with the various States Luchino had warred against, and concluded treaties with Savoy, Mantua, and Genoa. The peace with Savoy was sealed by the marriage of Galeazzo with Bianca, sister of Amedeo, the ruling prince.

It is in connexion with these peace treaties that the poet Petrarch appears at the Court of the Visconti. He came to Milan in 1353, and was persuaded by Giovanni to stay and to undertake the embassy to Venice. He did so in order that "peace might be brought about between two great states," and because of the high opinion which he entertained of the Archbishop. On his return from Venice he undertook to go to Avignon to the Pope. He writes to his friend Anguissola, *podestà* of Como, explaining why he has agreed to go on this even more laborious journey "across the Alps, where not merely rain but a very deluge is foretold by the stars, in the midst of a bitter and intolerable winter." He is going because "the gentle requests and low-toned, soft, persuasive words of a well-known person have for me the force of a command and the power of complete authority." The well-known person is of course Giovanni, and he goes on to explain that "I obey as one who can refuse nothing to him who rules, for indeed he does not bid me go, but begs it of me, his well-known gentleness being even greater than his authority, though that is of the highest." Under the Visconti, indeed, Milan had found happiness: she had emerged from the misery of the faction fights, and no foreign enemies threatened her. Naturally her wealth had increased enormously. With security it was possible to start great industrial projects. The vast, fertile plain which lay for miles round was now scientifically drained. Great irrigation works were carried through and a whole network of canals developed, the city in this way being connected up with the great rivers. Many industries

brought prosperity to the citizens. Within the walls was practised the craft of the armourers ; the raw materials for the trade were found in abundance in the neighbouring mountains. The far-famed suits of Milanese mail were now winning a European reputation ; no other country had succeeded in attaining such perfection, and even the Turks and Saracens were supplied with arms made in this city. The manufacture of fine woollen cloths and of linen and silk was extremely flourishing. Luchino's reign saw the beginning of the manufacture of cloth of gold and of silk, which was introduced in 1314 by refugees from Lucca, the ancient home of the silk industry.

Outside the city agriculture gave the backbone to the wealth of the community. Corn, rye, oats, barley, oil, wine all poured in from the splendidly tilled estates. The water meadows gave pasture to the breed of horses much desired as war horses by communities less happily situated than Milan itself. The inhabitants mostly used " mixed " or rye bread, but white bread was now eaten by the higher nobility, and a special bakery for white flour was set up by 1355.

Building was always a favourite fancy of the Visconti, and it has been remarked that a family which was constantly occupied in quarrels and open strife with the Papacy was also one of lavish builders of churches and other sacred buildings. Hitherto the rulers had confined themselves chiefly to secular buildings ; the great age of Giangaleazzo was yet to come. Fiamma, in the approved style of a lover of the " good old days," lamented the growth of luxury. It is really extraordinary to see how in every age the same jeremiads are uttered. " Clothes now are covered with fair adornments. Many persons, both men and women, now embellish their dress with embroideries of gold, silver, or pearls. Deep borders are placed upon the garments. All food is sumptuous and the masters of the culinary art are held in high esteem."

Under the two brothers a new institution was created. The *vicario di provvisione* was appointed, with the Council of Twelve to assist him. Their business was to carry on the ordinary administrative work of the city, supervising justice, and collecting the taxes. These were many and various. There was the *gabelle*, or tax on salt, which was a government monopoly, as was usual in European countries at that time. There was also a tax on corn and on wine. Customs duties were in 1216 estimated at one per cent on the value of the goods, but this rose to five per cent. In 1315 a tax on horses was introduced. Another important source of revenue was the fines levied on malefactors. In addition there were taxes on houses, on bakeries, on mills, on slaughter-houses, and on all legal contracts. The burden does not seem to have been heavy, for we have no complaints, and the prosperity of the city was immense. Population was increasing rapidly, trade was flourishing, and the whole standard of life rising, an unmistakable sign of well-being and good government.

Not content however with the expansion of wealth, Giovanni determined to try to extend the Milanese boundaries. Away to the south-east lay the great Papal city of Bologna, comparatively remote, as it seemed, from the Archbishop's influence. She had recently revolted against the Legate and asserted her independence. In 1350 North Italy was astounded to hear that Giovanni had bought Bologna for the vast sum of 200,000 florins from Pepoli, the banker tyrant of the city. The Pope (Clement VI) proceeded to excommunicate Giovanni for daring to acquire a city to which he himself laid claim as a Papal fief. Giovanni refused to give way, and, apparently by further expenditure, induced the Pope to acquiesce in his new possession. History fails to confirm the story dramatically related by Corio, who tells how the Archbishop received the Papal envoy in the great church after Mass, "and, raising in one hand a sword and in the other

a cross, said, ' This is my spiritual weapon with which to defend my spiritualities, and this my sword signifies that it is my temporal weapon for the defence of all my temporal realm,' and with no other reply the Legate was obliged to return to the Pope." The fact remains that Giovanni obtained the city and set to work to administer it with the consent of Clement.

Next Giovanni turned his attention to the west. As a commercial city Milan badly needed a port, and close to her south-western boundary lay Genoa, the mark of her earlier attacks. The House of Naples had long coveted Genoa as a means of consolidating communications with their possessions in Piedmont. They had failed, but now the city was being besieged by the Aragonese fleet and provisions were running short. The Genoese appealed to Giovanni of Milan, but he refused their requests. Preferring his rule, the city then offered itself to him, and he at once sent food to provision her. Giovanni, as became a man of peace, preferred purchase to force of arms, and in 1353 he succeeded here also. Genoa became for a brief period a Milanese city and the desired outlet to the sea was gained for a while.

The acquisition of Genoa was bound to lead to conflict with Venice. The natural animosity of the rival ports was constantly causing trouble. Genoa in return for her help in establishing Palæologos at Constantinople a century before had been given control of the Dardanelles. She had practical monopoly of the trade of the Black Sea, and of that which passed through Constantinople from the northern routes. Venice, on the other hand, had control of trade coming through Egypt and Asia Minor. In 1352 Venice had made an agreement with the Greek Emperor and dispatched a fleet to attack Pera, which from the days of Michael Palæologos had been held by the Genoese. Doria was in command there and succeeded, though with very heavy loss, in beating off the Venetians. Joining with Aragon the Venetians then totally defeated the Genoese in

a great battle at Logera, off the coast of Sardinia, and it was in consequence of that disaster that Genoa ceded herself to the Visconti.

Milan now entered into the rivalry with Venice. Under Giovanni's directions a new fleet was built, consisting of twenty ships built by Genoa and commanded by Doria, with a supplementary contingent of ten ships built and provided by the Visconti. This fleet was dispatched against Venice. The Venetian admiral, Pisani, had taken his ships to winter quarters at Portolungo, near the island of Sapienza, on the coast of the Morea. There Doria found them, and after a fierce engagement he succeeded in completely destroying the Venetians, whose whole fleet was wiped out. This sea-fight was one of the decisive battles of the age, and is known to the Milanese chroniclers as the victory of Modon, though modern historians call it the battle of Sapienza. Venice was very hard hit by this disaster, and close upon it came the famous conspiracy of Marino Falier, which shook the whole structure of her power. Anxious to have her hands free to deal with treason at home, Venice abandoned the war with Milan and Genoa. In 1355 peace was made, though Venice still remained the ally of Verona, Padua, Ferrara, and Mantua, who had formed a league directed against Milan. The league however was quite ineffective and Giovanni was left in possession of his new territory.

Not content even with this, the Archbishop had designs on Pisa, but here he met with the powerful and determined opposition of Florence, who would not tolerate any acquisition of that city by another State than herself. He had to content himself with encouraging the bad blood existing between the republic and Pisa and the neighbouring city of Lucca. It was left for a later Visconti to realize this particular dream of the farseeing Archbishop.

Giovanni's course was in fact run. He, like his predecessors, came suddenly to his death, though without any

suspicion of violence. Indeed, he had nothing so romantic as Luchino's supposed poisoning to close his story. He died in October, 1354, after an operation, performed with the unpleasing, though presumably necessary, object of removing a boil from his eyebrow. He was buried with great pomp and his body was later transferred to the great Duomo built by Giangaleazzo. His tomb is one of the very few left in that building, and consists of a sarcophagus of red stone mounted on very high pillars, so that the long inscription commemorating his many virtues and great achievements can scarcely be made out. The death of the Archbishop was speedily followed by that of Matteo, his nephew, but not before that individual had shown himself to be bad and incompetent. He was quite unable to cope with the usurpation of Giovanni da Oleggio at Bologna, and his brothers found him impossible to deal with. They did not have to bear with him long, however, for within the year he died. The cause of his death is not known ; popular rumour declared that his brothers had poisoned him, the medium being a leg of pork, of which he was inordinately fond. Perhaps an excessive diet of that article of food, especially in the Italy of that day, would be sufficiently fatal in itself to account for his death. Bernabò and Galeazzo were left as joint heirs to his possessions, and again Milan witnessed the rule of a pair of Visconti brothers.

It is convenient at this point to look at the territory which the Visconti had acquired while it yet remains as one whole. The boundaries of their State were constantly shifting, and the methods which they adopted to add to it still further complicated matters. Frequently a younger member of the family would be given a city to rule over, or they might be called in to act as protectors, as in the case of Como. Sometimes a smaller town, suffering from faction, would fall to them through one of the factions enlisting the Visconti against their rivals and then being obliged to depend on the intervener to maintain their position. In

these cases it was only gradually that the foothold gained led on to complete possession. But it is possible to distinguish from the beginning an inner ring of cities for which the Visconti always strove—Lodi, Bergamo, Como, Vercelli, Novara, Tortona, Pavia, Piacenza. Beyond these lay others more difficult of attainment—Crema, Cremona, Brescia, Alessandria, Asti. Further still were Parma, Genoa, and Bologna. These seemed the utmost limits possible for the earlier rulers, and it was only the genius of Giangaleazzo which opened a still more splendid prospect.

As a rule the Visconti expanded their dominion by voluntary cession or purchase. When they had acquired a hold over a city some member of the family was sent to rule. This combined the advantages of local government while setting up a close personal connexion with the capital. It also trained the younger members of the family in administrative work and gave them an invaluable insight into the task of ruling the larger State itself. The method worked well: the subject cities did not feel themselves subdued to Milan: they were bound by the personal tie of the lordship of the Visconti. They frequently enjoyed the advantages which came from having a little Court set up in their midst; this kept up their sense of dignity, and prevented them from feeling that they were being brought down to the level of the still smaller States. Their laws were not suppressed in favour of the Milanese model, but in general the ruling prince of Milan would issue edicts which applied to all the cities. Thus Luchino addressed an edict to Piacenza which was read also in Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, Crema, Lodi, Como, Asti, Vercelli, Bobbio, Borgo, Vigevano, Pontescuro, Locarno, and Sonnino. That the rule thus set up was popular is proved by the preference shown for coming under Visconti rule rather than that of the other great powers, for independence was really impossible in the conflict caused by the greater States.

The changes in the Viscontian territory are too frequent to be traced minutely, but if they are in chronological sequence progress is seen to be steady and in well-defined directions. Matteo, the founder, began by gaining Pavia. He was helped by the fact that the people were Ghibelline, and as such in sympathy with his own party in Milan. He drove out from Pavia the local nobles, who were Guelfs and supporters of the della Torre. He restored Ghibelline influence under the family of the Beccaria, who paid him tribute, acknowledged him as lord, and allowed him to build a great fortress. Luchino at first lived at Pavia, in close association with the Beccaria, until needed elsewhere. Marco ruled at Alessandria and Tortona, Galeazzo was lord of Piacenza, Stefano of Vercelli and Novara. Matteo also set up a kind of protectorate over Como and Crema. Genoa he greatly desired to add to the list, and Marco was employed in attacking the city, while Robert of Naples made vain efforts to drive him off. Unable to force Marco to raise the siege, Robert had recourse to the Pope, and the quarrel of Matteo and the Papacy led eventually to Matteo's resignation of rule.

Galeazzo's death in 1329 saw a crumbling away of the Visconti territory. Many of the cities now passed under the tyranny of their local families, including Novara, Vercelli, Lodi, and Crema, where the local lords were recognized by the Emperor Louis. Azzo however set to work to restore the position. He recovered nearly all Matteo's and Galeazzo's possessions. Vercelli voluntarily offered him the lordship, though she was sufficiently distant to have been able to resist pressure from him had she wished. In addition, Azzo saw that he had a chance of further expansion to the south-east. He secured Bergamo in 1322, Brescia 1337, Piacenza 1336, Cremona 1334, Lodi 1335, Crema, Como, and Caravaggio. Even Parma seemed obtainable, for the Roni negotiated with him for its sale, but he did not wish to quarrel with the Scalas, who would

have resented its acquisition, so withdrew, buying only Borgo San Domenico.

Luchino was the next to add to the domains. He won Bellinzona from the family of the Busconi, and thus obtained the key to the Val Levantina. Locarna came next, and then Asti, which chose first him and then Giovanni as lords. In 1347 Alessandria and Tortona were restored to the Visconti. These acquisitions were possible owing to the disappearance of the Neapolitan power in the north, for Robert of Anjou had been replaced by his daughter Joanna, who was far too closely beset by her own difficulties to try to thwart the distant Visconti. As the crown of Luchino's work Parma was eventually bought from Albizzo d'Este, who had purchased the city, but could not hold it, and was induced to pass it on to Luchino for what he gave for it.

Archbishop Giovanni brought as his first acquisition Novara, of which he had been bishop. On being promoted to Milan he had resigned the See, but he kept his hold on the "temporalities," and the city returned to Milanese allegiance. He also, as we have seen, secured Genoa by voluntary cession in 1353. Shortly before that date (in 1350) he had acquired Bologna by purchase from the Pepoli, and subsequently secured Papal consent by a heavy payment to Clement VI. Giovanni was recognized as Papal Vicar, and the administration of the city passed from the Papal officials into his hands. He had to pay no less than 100,000 florins down for this concession, together with an annual sum of 12,000, but part of this was covered by the taxation of Bologna itself. This great city gave the Visconti the gate into Tuscany; it lay at the meeting place of Romagna, Tuscany, and Lombardy, and Giovanni meant it to be a base against Florence and the Papal States. He traced out the path Giangaleazzo and Filippo Maria were to follow, for he won over the Ghibelline lords to the north-east and south of Florence, right round the Casentino to Orvieto.

Bologna was destined to cause much trouble, though Giovanni took every precaution. He had bought the city, but he called together the Council and put his rule to the arbitrament of election. While some of the members rose and objected to the sale, the majority elected Giovanni as lord, the numbers being 526 for the Archbishop, and 324 against—figures which show that the election had some reality.

The city was allowed to keep its constitution, the Great Council of Four Thousand, the Senate of Four Hundred, and the Council of Anziani and Sapientes, though the Four Thousand lost the right of electing any of the magistrates. Even the *Parlamento* was retained, though it was only summoned when the succession needed ratification. The administration was kept in the hands of the Four Hundred, nominated by him; legislation remained with the city, subject to the acceptance of his edicts. The *capitano* was nominated by him, and also the vicar, who presided over the Councils and the *podestà*, who was the head of the judiciary. The Archbishop gave directions for the appointment of a curator and officials of the mint and for the issue of a new coinage, of which Bologna was in great need. The new issue bore the Archbishop's name and crest. He himself visited the city in 1353. He reformed abuses and set things in order, and "showed himself so affable and courteous that he made himself beloved by the whole city."

As Bologna was of such importance, Giovanni sent in 1351, as his governor, one of the most brilliant of the family, Giovanni da Oleggio, who was undoubtedly a Visconti, but whose exact parentage is unknown. It used to be thought that he was actually the son of the Archbishop, but recent research has decided against this. A branch of the Visconti had been settled at Oleggio for generations. This Giovanni was first brought forward by Luchino, who sent him to lead a troop against Florence in the war in support of Lucca. Giovanni was taken prisoner

by the Florentines, who, filled with hatred of the Visconti, and specially opposed to the Archbishop in view of his successes, invented and spread abroad the story that Giovanni da Oleggio was his son.

Giovanni da Oleggio found himself ruler of a city which was far removed from Milan itself. The isolation and importance of the place were too great a temptation. He seized his chance when it came and made himself an independent tyrant, with his head-quarters in the great castle which the Archbishop had built. In his attempt to obtain the city the Archbishop had perhaps gone too far. The Pope and Florence could not acquiesce in this setting up of an outpost over against them. They became more hostile than before, and at the time when the dynasty was entering upon a difficult phase, Giovanni da Oleggio realized the position, and on the death of the Archbishop he defied Matteo Visconti, to whom the city had been allotted under his uncle's will. Within a few months Matteo too had died. Bernabò then inherited Bologna, and at first he accepted an offer by Giovanni to pay a yearly tribute of 16,000 gold florins if he continued as governor. He soon repented of this, but found it impossible to get rid of his inconvenient relative. The people of Bologna hated Giovanni; many had left rather than live under his rule. Bernabò accordingly decided to enlist the help of the discontented citizens. Together with his brother Galeazzo he entered into a plot. They sent for one Ugolino di Maghinardo from Bologna, and told him, "You know how we are treated by this Giovanni; we can get nothing out of him, and he does all he can against us and hates us. . . . We will take the city from him and it shall be Bernabò's. . . . Bernabò, being a most generous man, will reward you and all who help in this enterprise." Ugolino agreed heartily, and it was arranged that Bernabò should approach Bologna under a pretext of an impending attack on Ferrara. He was to be admitted to the city by the conspirators and the rest would be easy.

Unfortunately, one of the plotters, Fregoso Alessandrino, was too zealous. He attempted to get rid of Giovanni on his own account, and, lying in wait for him as he rode through the city, shot at him with a poisoned arrow. He failed to hit Giovanni and was taken and put to torture, under which he confessed the whole plot. All the conspirators were seized and beheaded. Fregoso himself met a more horrible fate: he was dragged at a horse's tail through the city, then buried alive, and afterwards his body quartered and thrown to the dogs.

In 1356 another plot was arranged, this time the initiative coming from one Spinolese, who was *podestà* of San Giovanni in Persicale, and who was weary of remaining in so dangerous a place, far from his wife and children. He sent secret messengers to Bernabò and even to that ruler's wife Regina, with a present of an amber rosary and a piece of embroidered silk. Once more Bernabò was to be admitted to the city by treachery. This time Bernabò's messenger, sent to find Spinolese at San Giovanni, found him absent and went on to Bologna to seek him there. He was discovered by Giovanni da Oleggio's people, taken and tortured, and confessed. Spinolese and his friends were seized, dragged at horses' tails to the "Place of Justice" and then hanged. But by this time Giovanni was tired of the struggle to maintain himself. He was not likely to fall in with the wishes of his inveterate enemy Bernabò, and took the course most disadvantageous to the Visconti. He sold the city to the Pope, receiving in return the city of Forma, and being made Marchese of the March of Ancona. The Pope's army entered the city in 1360, Giovanni himself leaving it secretly so as to avoid the insults of the people.

Giovanni's great acquisition was once more lost.

CHAPTER VI

GALEAZZO AND BERNABÒ

Great increase in Visconti power—Relations of the two brothers—Division of the territory—Arrival of Emperor Charles—Galeazzo's home policy—Pavia and Montferrat—Career of the Monk Bussolari, an early Savonarola—Siege of Pavia—Fall of Bussolari—Galeazzo goes to Pavia—Founding of the university—Montferrat introduces free companies—Galeazzo bribes the English—His successes against Montferrat—Savoy intervenes—Peace concluded—Giangaleazzo made of age—Murder of Montferrat—Foreign policy of Galeazzo—His great marriage alliances—Valentina's birth and christening—Marriage of Violante and Lionel of Clarence—The wedding feast.

THE death of Marco in 1354 had left the now great State of Milan to be divided between his brothers Galeazzo and Bernabò. With them the great period of the Visconti begins. Under them the House rose to the level of royalty, contracting marriages with the great Kings of France and England, and their power and magnificence made them the talk of Europe. Milan was to be renowned for her wealth and prosperity. At the same time an extraordinary quality began to manifest itself in the dynasty. Bernabò was one of the strangest characters imaginable, and at so great a distance of time it is almost impossible to discover what kind of man he really was. His wild, fierce moods and terrible anger led him to commit deeds which to us are horrible, and the atrocities of his game laws have been allowed to give a sinister tinge to his whole story. Yet, at the same time, he is the man about whom the peasantry in their tales, and the chroniclers in their histories, alike tell, praising his justice and uprightness. The extraordinary story of his end is one of the most dramatic tales in history, and it is all the more astounding that it should be so little known. Even the fact that it

was embodied in the famous "Lament of Bernabò" has not sufficed to give the story half the prominence of other episodes, and yet his fall and the rise to supreme power of Giangaleazzo are of great importance in Italian history. These events were, however, far off as yet, and before the brothers stretched many years of prosperity and of life full of incident and triumph, lived in the early days of Italy's great age.

The two brothers, though they got on badly together, never allowed their personal differences to affect their policy. All their lives they worked together in consolidating the Visconti power and defending it against its foes. They even managed with great skill to utilize the fact that two Visconti, and not one, reigned over Milan, in order to further their own ends, as, for example, when Galeazzo maintained a distinct policy towards the Papacy, Bernabò's inveterate enemy. No jealousy seems to have arisen between them—the misfortune of one would call forth help from the other; and even the marriage alliances of Galeazzo do not seem in the least to have disturbed the violent and ambitious Bernabò. How they managed thus to work together, though the chroniclers tell us of the antagonism each felt for the other, is difficult to conceive, and yet the fact remains that they did so.

Even before the death of Marco this unity of purpose and capacity for sinking private feelings in the effort for the common good was clearly shown. Charles of Luxemburg, in 1354, entered Italy to be crowned Emperor. His coming was a danger to the Visconti brothers, for all their enemies seized the opportunity to intrigue against them, and to try to deprive them of the support which the early connexion with the Empire had given their House. One of the most violent of their opponents was the Marquis of Montferrat, who had been embittered by the acquisition, made by Luchino in 1345, of Asti and Cherasco, which were then gained from Anjou. Archbishop Giovanni's success in

obtaining Genoa had still more enraged Montferrat, and the marquis, seeing himself threatened by this great rising power, set himself to try and stop further progress at all costs. His emissaries at the Court of the Emperor Charles worked with those sent by the Beccaria of Pavia, who also knew themselves threatened by the Visconti, Galeazzo being known to aim at gaining the city. There were, however, wheels within wheels. Charles was set on his coronation, and he realized distinctly that if he were to be crowned with the iron crown at Milan he could only do so in safety if the lords of the city were on his side. He dared not therefore break with the Visconti, or, if he had ever contemplated such a thing, two arguments soon convinced him to the contrary. He was at Mantua on December 31, 1354, and there he was met by the Visconti themselves, who came with a large force and also with large sums of money. Steel and gold in combination were too much for Charles. He decided to remain on good terms with the brothers. Their enemies had gone so far as to get a Papal Bull allowing the coronation to take place elsewhere than at Monza, where the famous crown and treasure were kept. They had intended by this to allow of the ceremony taking place at Pavia, under the auspices of Montferrat and Beccaria. Instead, the Visconti utilized the proviso to have it held in their own city. At Mantua Charles made an agreement whereby the three Visconti were made Imperial Vicars of Lombardy. Charles received an enormous subsidy from them, and it was decided that the coronation should take place immediately in Milan. There Charles came on January 4, 1355, to find the city crammed full of the splendidly armed and equipped retainers of his hosts. The ceremony took place on the 6th in San Ambrogio, and the Emperor left six days later for Piacenza.

This danger thus triumphantly averted, the next event of importance was the death of Marco, leaving only two daughters, and the division of the State between the

survivors. Galeazzo, though the elder, had no special privileges. His share was the western portion, which included Como, Asti, Vercelli, Novara, Alessandria, Tortona, Alba, Cuneo, Monte Vico, a slice of Piedmont, running from Vigevano to the Ticino, Biandrate, Nova, etc. The city of Milan was divided between them, Galeazzo having the gates called Comasino, Vercellina, Giovia, and Ticinese. Bernabò had the eastern part of the State and the eastern part of the city, his gates being called Romana, Tosa, Nuova, and Orientale. His territory included Parma, Lodi, Piacenza, Bobbio, and Bologna. Each thereby entered upon special difficulties. Galeazzo immediately became the object of Montferrat's hatred, and the struggle began which really occupied the whole of his life. Bernabò, in turn, being heir to Bologna, inherited the family feud with the Church, and his stormy career, with the usual Visconti episode of excommunication, develops along these lines. As however the careers of each are distinct, it is best to take each one separately, and Galeazzo's, as being both the simplest and the shortest, may be first considered.

GALEAZZO II

Galeazzo may be said to have had on the whole a successful career. He was talented in the way of his family, showing diplomatic ability. He was not himself a soldier, and his campaigns were not specially victorious; but he attained the objects of his ambition, and his life was full of colour. His connexion with Pavia brings us into touch with the monk Bussolari, a forerunner of Savonarola. It is to him that we owe the wonderful wedding of Violante, and the man who had married his two children into the great royal families of France and England must have looked back on his achievements with satisfaction. He was in his way as spectacular as Bernabò, and the fact that we know

less of his personality probably in this case means that it was a more satisfactory one than his brother's.

Galeazzo's home policy was simple in its aim. He wished to acquire Pavia and to beat off the attacks of Montferrat, who was equally determined to prevent any acquisition of so great a town. Pavia itself had, under Matteo the Great and Galeazzo I, been the ally of Milan, and was still nominally under the rule of the Beccaria, the Marquis of Montferrat having been made Imperial Vicar by Charles IV. In 1356 Galeazzo laid siege to the place, attacking it both by land and water, for he assembled a great fleet of boats on the Po, making Piacenza his base. This fleet soon cut Pavia off from the Ticino. At Gravellone a bridge and a fort were built by Galeazzo, and here an important engagement took place. Galeazzo's cavalry drove back the Pavians and met with great success, but they ended by going too far in pursuit and were defeated. This, however, did not prevent the city from being surrounded, and matters were looking grave for the defenders. Now came a diversion. Montferrat attacked Galeazzo from Piedmont, while at the same time Reggio was attacked by the Estes, and the troops which Bernabò had sent to his brother's help had to be withdrawn. Genoa revolted and threw off the Visconti yoke, and war also broke out with the Gonzagas. Galeazzo had no option but to retire from before Pavia. Montferrat instantly threw in reinforcements, and at the same time the city itself, in May, 1356, fell under the influence of the Augustinian monk, Jacopo Bussolari. This man is an earlier example of the type made so famous by Savonarola, but he seems to have been less of a mystic and more of a practical turn. His career, in consequence, shows him as a more moderate man, though perhaps he was helped by the circumstance that the crisis in Pavia pointed to a direct course of action. The city was attacked by Milan, and the first necessity was to try to save her from the enemy. He reorganized the troops and

arranged a great attack on the besiegers, which proved completely successful. Not only were Galeazzo's forts round the city all taken—his fleet in the Ticino was also destroyed in its entirety. Pavia, for the time, was freed from danger from without. Next came the task of improving the state of affairs within the walls. Besides being a patriot Bussolari was a reformer, and both material and moral conditions required attention.

The monk believed the Beccaria to be worthless oppressors, and attributed the dearness of bread to their monopolist policy. He preached a great sermon against them, which began, "Oh! monopolists of corn. Oh! men stained with the blood of the people, when will the day of judgment come?" and the people, inflamed by his eloquence, rushed out, sacked the Beccaria palaces and drove the family outside the walls. "Many," says Corio, "were executed and many made prisoner." Those who escaped fled to Milan and begged help from Galeazzo, formerly their enemy, but now, they hoped, their friend; and indeed Galeazzo seized the opportunity and made their exile a pretext for further attacks on the city.

There followed a great "cleansing" of the place. The people were bidden to give up their sumptuous clothes and their silver plate and their jewels. Officials went round taking off lace ruffles and fringes of gold and silver, and girdles enriched with jewels. The women of course were specially singled out. But the objects thus willingly yielded were not apparently destroyed, for Corio says, "He bade the women give up their rich adornments and with the money received he paid soldiers to fight for their country." So great was the veneration felt for the preacher that Azario says, "Blessed was he held who touched the car in which he was wont to be taken about and from which he preached."

Petrarch was a friend of Bussolari, and also of the Visconti, and he wrote to the monk strongly urging him to preach

peace and moderation, for most contemporary writers agree that Bussolari should have stuck to religion and left politics alone. This he would not do, for he looked on Galeazzo as one seeking to enslave the city unlawfully. Accordingly, he became a supporter of Montferrat.

Now came an interlude. Bernabò in his part of the world had done well against the Mantuan League, which consisted of Mantua, Verona, Ferrara, and Montferrat, and forced them to come to terms. He was assisted by the assassination of Can Grande of Verona, in earlier days the ally of the Visconti against the Pope, but for long their jealous enemy. Can Grande was killed by his younger brother, Cansignore, who imprisoned the remaining brother, Paolo, and made himself Lord of Verona. In the negotiations a peace between Galeazzo and Montferrat was included. Novara and Alba were restored to Galeazzo, and his little daughter, Maria, was betrothed to Montferrat's son, "she being four years old and he not any older." Asti was to be Maria's dowry, "but shortly after this she passed to the other world," and the breach in consequence was not healed.

Set free, however, from the marquis, Galeazzo, helped by Bernabò, began a grand attack upon Pavia, who could look for no further help from Montferrat in her struggle against Milanese supremacy. The two brothers went themselves to conduct operations, and the city was invested on two sides. A sortie was made under the direction of Bussolari, but was defeated by Galeazzo. In despair the city offered itself to Bernabò, who refused to accept it, but offered to act as mediator for his brother. Galeazzo promised to treat the city well, and, relying on his word, Pavia at length surrendered, on November 13, 1359, the triumphal entry of the Visconti taking place four days later. Galeazzo more than fulfilled his promise, as his subsequent history showed. Bussolari, who had conducted the negotiations and whose surrender was included in that of the city, met with no vengeance from the Visconti. He was handed over to his

own ecclesiastical superiors, who sent him to pass the rest of his life in the monastery of Vercelli. More happy than Savonarola, he simply passed into obscurity. He had failed to keep the Visconti out of Pavia, but his failure, as it proved, was to the benefit of the city. For Galeazzo disliked life in Milan at close quarters with Bernabò and adopted Pavia as his own place of abode. He built himself a beautiful palace, the great castle which still remains. He bridged the Ticino and he cleared out the canal ; finally, in 1361, he founded the famous university, which became for Western Italy what Padua was to the Eastern and Bologna to the Central States. Not content with founding chairs and bringing in famous professors, "summoning men learned in the law and the sciences and giving them honourable emoluments," Galeazzo in his zeal supplied students, by the expedient of ordering his subjects to send their scholarly sons to Pavia, forbidding them to attend any other university. His ardour and his generosity were successful, and Pavia in her university has one of the best memorials of the Visconti.

The peace with Montferrat had not been a permanent settlement, and the early death of Maria still further upset the position. In 1362 war once more broke out. The Marquis of Montferrat now enlisted the help of a great "free company" of English, set free at this juncture by the peace of Bretigny between France and England. These troops consisted of the famous "White Company," led by Sir John Hawkwood, and taking its name from the white vests the men wore and the white banner they carried. It was composed of 3,500 horse and 2,000 foot. They duly arrived, and entering Italy laid waste Galeazzo's territory round Alessandria. "Never were seen in Lombardy men who behaved with such fury and licence, giving quarter to neither man nor beast." They burnt and sacked all the territory up to the Ticino, and went on to Pavia, which they threatened. In a skirmish they defeated Galeazzo's troops,

and his commander, Lando, was killed. Many places in deadly fear at the new army gave themselves over to Montferrat at once. Galeazzo was obliged to give ground, for even the towns he still held could not be relied on to make any effective resistance to the savage new-comers. The poor Italians, indeed, had not passed beyond the earlier stage of more chivalrous warfare, when battles were fought according to rule, quarter and ransom were taken for granted, and loss of life was accordingly extremely small. The English mercenaries came from the more savage fields of the Hundred Years' War, and a quarter of a century of ravaging French soil had made their habits formidable in the extreme. Fortunately for himself, Galeazzo not only grasped the fact that these new troops were, after all, what the name implies, "mercenaries" of the usual type—he also had the means of dealing with them. The Visconti wealth enabled him to bribe the English leaders, and the whole band, deserting Montferrat's service, went off to enter into the war now raging between Florence and Pisa. Not only so, but they were induced to hand back to Galeazzo all the castles which had fallen into their hands. To supplement this success, Genoa now agreed to come to terms, and, though remaining independent as far as her government was concerned, she undertook to pay a yearly tribute to Galeazzo. Emboldened by this he took the offensive and marching into Montferrat took Valenza and attacked the chief town, Casal San Evasio. Como and the Valtellina were also recaptured. Montferrat in alarm sent for one of the two best mercenary captains of the day, Count Lando, who at once attacked Galeazzo, drove him back and took Asti. Savoy joined Montferrat, and Galeazzo was hard pressed. The year 1373 opened very badly for Galeazzo; the Savoyards reached Vimercate and entered the Bergamasco, which rose against the Visconti. Galeazzo, knowing that his brother was in even greater danger than himself, sent off such troops as he could spare under the command

of his only son, Giangaleazzo, but Acuto was more than a match for the young man and defeat followed. Vercelli was sacked by the mercenaries and Piacentino rebelled. A terrible outbreak of the plague put a check to hostilities, and in 1375 peace was made between the Visconti on one side and Montferrat, Savoy, and Ferrara on the other.

Galeazzo had for some time suffered terribly from gout ; he was now saddened by the death of his little grandson, Azzone, the child of Giangaleazzo and Isabella of Valois, and he now declared Giangaleazzo of age and "emancipated" him, giving him Novara, Vercelli, and Alessandria, all of which he had to win back for himself. This he succeeded in doing, Vercelli in 1377 returning of her own accord to the Visconti rule, and Alessandria and Asti being recovered in the same year. Suddenly Galeazzo found himself delivered from his enemy. The Marquis of Montferrat had paid a visit to Pavia with the object of regaining Asti by negotiation. Failing in this, "he departed in a rage, and, not wishing to traverse the lands of the Lord Galeazzo, he rode towards Cremona and thence to Parmigiano, in order thence to enter Montferrat, and arriving at a place called Mataletto he was there shamefully killed in a stable by one of his household, and his body carried to Parma and there buried in the great church of that city, before the high altar."

With such dramatic suddenness did the struggle end, and, though Galeazzo himself was not long to survive his old enemy, the danger from Montferrat was over. When next the two States clashed it was in very different circumstances, for, in the wars between Filippo Maria and Savoy, Montferrat was only the small buffer State, and was made the victim of two great powers.

While Galeazzo had thus spent his life in acquiring Pavia and keeping his possessions against the intrigues of Montferrat he had, at the same time, pursued a policy of matrimonial alliances, which was as remarkable as it was

successful. Galeazzo had himself, during his uncle's lifetime, married a princess of the House of Savoy—Bianca—the wedding taking place in September, 1350. Their eldest child was Giangaleazzo, born at the end of the year 1351, at Milan, where Galeazzo had a palace near the eastern gate. A daughter, Maria, died in childhood; another, Violante, survived; and a baby of whom nothing is known was born and died at Pavia. The two children Giangaleazzo and Violante were destined to make two of the most talked-of marriages of the age. In 1360 Giangaleazzo being, as his funeral oration afterwards tells us, only nine years of age, Galeazzo concluded an alliance with the French. John II was an impecunious king, much weakened by the disastrous war with England, and in much need of money to pay his ransom. Galeazzo was extremely wealthy, and a treaty was concluded whereby Isabella of Valois, the daughter of King John, was to marry Giangaleazzo. The French gave as dowry the county of Virtù, whereby Giangaleazzo gained the title by which he was best known to his contemporaries, that of Count of Virtù. On the other hand, Galeazzo paid over no less a sum than 100,000 florins, the money being raised by taxes on the Milanese. The little princess was sent from France, and in 1364 we are told that she and Giangaleazzo had a house together, the boy being twelve and a half years old. Two years later Giangaleazzo became a father, his wife giving birth to her first child, Valentina, and later, in 1368, came a son, Giangaleazzo, who died almost immediately, and another son, Azzone, born in 1370. These children became, in their turn, important persons in the matrimonial policy of the Visconti, Azzone being spoken of in the subsequent Sicilian proposals, while Valentina was destined to make the most fatally important marriage of the House. These events, however, in 1366, lay in the far future. At Milan great festivities took place at Valentina's birth; Bernabò came to the christening feast and the two godparents were the Lords of Ferrara and

Rimini, who left Milan for Avignon, where they at once engaged in plots against their recent hosts. The Pope (Urban V) at this moment was forming a great league against Bernabò, and had concluded a treaty with the Emperor Charles, with Ferrara, Rimini, and Padua. Galeazzo had never been involved in the quarrel of his brother with the Church, and pursued a completely independent policy. He sought his allies outside Italy, and, having contracted the earlier alliance with France, he now, in 1367, went on to form one with England. Here again the alliance was purely matrimonial, his daughter Violante, or Yolande, as she appears in English, marrying Lionel Duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III. Lionel was already a widower, with a little daughter, Anne, through whom the Yorkists were later to trace their claim to the English throne. We know nothing of the negotiations which preceded the match, save that Violante's dowry was settled at 200,000 gold florins, together with the city of Alba and various castles in Piedmont. The wedding took place at Milan in 1368, Lionel arriving there with his train, including the "Sire della Dispensa" and 2,000 English, all with bows and shields. He was met at the Porta Ticinese by Galeazzo and his wife Bianca, accompanied by Giangaleazzo and his wife Isabella. Eighty damsels attended the Visconti ladies, all dressed alike in bodices of scarlet, with white cloth sleeves embroidered with trefoils and girt at the hips by girdles costing eighty florins apiece. Giangaleazzo had in his retinue thirty knights and thirty grooms, and the chief notables of Milan followed in the train. The marriage was celebrated "at the porch of the church of St. Maria Maggiore, in the presence of the nobles and other great persons." Bernabò gave the bride away, and Mass was celebrated afterwards with great pomp.

There followed, on June 15th, the famous banquet, which in its details of the presents that accompanied each course, and the dishes which composed it, reads like the glories of

the old-fashioned fairy tales. The guests were seated at two tables, the men at one and the ladies, of whom there were fifty, being presided over by Bernabò's wife Regina, at another. The banquet was held in the court of Galeazzo's palace, with presumably an open space in the middle, where we may imagine the marvellous gifts were brought. Petrarch was one of the guests of honour, and is specially mentioned as having his seat at the high table with the princes. There were eighteen courses in all, sixteen being of meat and fish, followed by one of cheese and one of fruit. Each course had fifty dishes, half of meat and half of fish, and with every one different gifts were brought from Galeazzo to his new son-in-law. It is impossible to give a full description, as found in Corio, though it is hard to decide which are the most fascinating items. The feast began with a course which included two roast sucking pigs sending fire from their mouths, these being to this day specialities in Milan at Whitsuntide, though now without the ingenious fire of the fourteenth century, followed by grilled fish. With them were presented two greyhounds with collars of velvet and silken leashes, and twelve couple of bloodhounds with gilded chains. Later came roast calf, trout, quail and partridges, ducks and heron, beef, fat capons with garlic sauce, sturgeon, chicken with lemon sauce, beef and eel pasties, lampreys, roast kid, leverets and fawns, venison and beef galantine, pullets with red and green sauces, salted tongues, rabbits, and the sole entry of vegetables appears in course fifteen, which consisted of "peacocks with green vegetables and beans." The cheese course also comprised "junkets," followed by fruit and cherries; but there is no mention of sweets or sweetmeats. The gifts are a witness of the wealth of the Visconti and a curious commentary on the life of the times. Greyhounds and bloodhounds, for which Milan was famous, come first in their dozens, all with beautiful collars and leashes of velvet and silk with chased buckles. Goshawks and sparrow-

hawks, "with bells of silver-gilt and buttons enamelled with the Visconti device"; falcons with "hoods of velvet and buttons and fastenings of enamelled devices" come next. Then another of the city's famous products, suits of armour, for jousts and for battle, each set of a dozen suits containing two specially worked for Lionel himself, and all with the crest of Visconti and Clarence. At the ninth course the gift consisted of twelve great rolls of gold brocade and twelve of silk, coming from the wonderful looms of Milan. At the tenth there were presented "two flasks of enamelled silver, one filled with Malvoisie and the other with Vernaccia (white wine), and twelve basins of silver-gilt, chased and enamelled." Next came a variety of horses, led in, a dozen at a time, bred in the pastures beyond, with saddles of leather, gilded, with lances and shields and six steel helmets, "two being done over with silver-gilt, for Lionel, and one with pure gold." Six destriers (chargers) came with gilt bridles, green velvet reins, trappings of green velvet with silk tassels and knots and fringes of tawny red. Then six horses for tourneys, this time with red trappings and tawny halters. There followed a coat covered with pearls and a hood having a great flower on it composed of pearls and a mantle, covered with pearls and lined with ermine. These were followed by a clasp, with a ruby, a diamond, and a pearl, and four beautiful, enamelled girdles; and then incongruously came "twelve fat oxen," and the last present of all consisted of what were evidently two very special horses, for we are told one was called "Lion" and the other "Abbot," with seventy-six horses for the English barons and gentlemen.

Such a scene would no doubt have horrified Bussolari as much as it pleases us. Lionel probably parted from his father-in-law with regret, but indeed those who had sat at this feast, which was talked of at all the European Courts, had to take up a strenuous life straight away. Bernabò left immediately after to superintend the war against

Ferrara, and to prepare to meet the now hostile Emperor Charles. Lionel went to Alba, one of the dowry towns of Violante, and within a few weeks died there of fever. His men then went over to Montferrat and turned their arms against Galeazzo, who had so recently entertained them. Galeazzo was once more plunged into war.

Four years later, in 1372, the glory of Galeazzo's life seemed completely overshadowed. Montferrat, aided by Savoy, pressed him hard. Bernabò was also in misfortune, for Acuto had left the Visconti service and entered that of the Pope. At this moment Isabella of Valois having died in giving birth to a son, Carlo, who himself died in the following year, Galeazzo began to negotiate another royal marriage for his son, this time with Maria, daughter and heiress of the King of Sicily, but his strength was failing rapidly and the negotiations dragged on without any decisive action being arrived at. In 1375, being then fifty-six years old, he gave over most of his power to Giangaleazzo, withdrawing himself to Pavia, while his son set to work to make terms with Savoy and recover the lost towns. Galeazzo suffered terribly from gout, and sent for doctors from miles round. In 1378 he died, and was buried in the city which he had adopted as his own and to which his son, in his turn, was to cling. He was buried in San Pietro, but his tomb was destroyed in later days. He had built the great palace and given much to churches. It is said that he did this in remorse for many ill deeds, for he shares with Bernabò the guilt of inventing the torture called the "quaresima." More probably, however, he was only carrying on the family ideas, for the Visconti consistently showed themselves as great patrons of charities. He is not one of the great Visconti, but he was competent and left his mark on Milanese history through his absorption of Pavia. He was in his lifetime overshadowed by his brother, and after his death his fame was destined to be eclipsed by that of his great son.

CHAPTER VII

BERNABÒ

Bernabò, his character—Stories of his punishment—His justice—His jokes—Methods of government—Quarrels with the Papacy—League against him—Loss of Bologna and efforts to recover it—Hawkwood employed by Bernabò—Victories of Mirandola and Rubiera—Quarrel with Acuto—Defeat of Bernabò—The schism and Bernabò's relations with Florence—The Neapolitan succession—Alliance with France—Position of Giangaleazzo—Bernabò's fall and death.

BERNABÒ is the strangest of all the Visconti. His character is so contradictory that it is almost impossible to decide what sort of man he was. He made the deepest impression on all who came in contact with him, and, like the heroes of other nations, he has left lasting traces in the legends and poems of the time. Not only is his character extraordinary, his life is equally so, and his sudden fall at the hands of his despised nephew is as dramatic as anything in history. At the same time, behind all the wealth of picturesque happenings there are to be found important threads of policy. Bernabò worked on the European stage, and his diplomacy places him amongst the kings and rulers of mediaeval Europe.

Before dealing with his life it is necessary to try and get some idea of the man himself. His great equestrian statue, now in the Castello at Milan, shows him as a tall, massive, broad-shouldered figure, with a small, round head and short, pointed beard, erect on his war-horse, in an attitude which at the outset seems to show strength and pride. Indeed, he was a man of superabundant vitality. He had an enormous family: thirty-six children were acknowledged by him, sixteen being legitimate. In his youth he had been wild, and as Azario says, "ill-behaved with women," and

does not seem to have improved greatly with years. He had married in his uncle Giovanni's lifetime Beatrice, daughter of Mastino della Scala, who was called Regina, "because of the great spirit she had." Bernabò loved his wife, though he was unfaithful to her, and in his worst fits of rage she was the only person who could come near him. He had great confidence in her, as is shown by the frequent grants that he made to her of towns and lands. She was extremely competent and used to buy up poor or devastated districts, such as Lower Brescia, with her own money, and by developing their resources and judiciously expending capital upon them bring them once more to prosperity. Azario tells us that she was said to manage Bernabò just as Galeazzo II's ministers managed him.

Bernabò was quite unlike his brother in this respect: he worked hard himself, and if his subordinates did not give satisfaction he dismissed them at once. He put down bribery with a stern hand, but if an official proved satisfactory he allowed him to remain in office. His good reputation as a master made him well-served. He fought at the head of his troops during his incessant wars, while Galeazzo always employed generals and did not go himself. Indeed Bernabò was in these respects more conservative and old-fashioned than either his brother or his nephew, who both worked as heads of more modern States through ministers and subordinates. He kept only a small Court, with two vicars and three councillors, and did most of his own work himself. From this fact probably arise many of the stories of his outbursts of rage, as he came into direct contact with all the irritating routine of government.

Though violent and brutal in many respects, Bernabò was not an ignorant boor. "He was," says Azario, "most learned in the Decretals, and had studied them at length in his youth." As a legislator, indeed, he did well, with the exception of his terrible game laws. Here he horrifies all modern standards. His passion for hunting was beyond

even the bounds of the Middle Ages. Many are the tales told of him and the 5,000 hounds which he billeted upon the citizens of Milan. If the custodian of one of these hounds let it get into bad condition or die, fearful penalties overtook him—the loss of a hand or a foot or even his life. Anyone who killed a boar, Bernabò's favourite game, was either blinded or hanged, and persons who did not pay game fines had their houses burnt down. Even though all kings at that day had very severe game laws, Bernabò's regulations went farther than usual. But he must be judged by the standard of his time, and the severity of his laws may perhaps be compared with those which in nineteenth-century England valued sheep as highly as Bernabò valued his hounds, and imposed the death penalty on those who stole them. Smaller matters were also treated with great severity. Any man who perambulated Milan at night "asking for wine" was liable to have his foot cut off to teach him to stay at home peaceably. Trespassers in one of Bernabò's private streets near the palace were in danger of their lives if caught. But these strict rules had their object, for under him Milan ceased to be infested by robbers and footpads. Like Alfred the Great, he aimed at making his territory safe for the private citizen, "so that a man might go from end to end of his land with no arms but a stick."

A much greater blot on his fame was the invention of the "quaresima," which he shared with Galeazzo. This was a punishment inflicted on criminals which gave them the maximum of torture, ending, after forty days, in death. It began with a flogging, then a day's rest; another flogging, another rest; then limbs would be gradually removed—a hand, a foot, nose, ears, always with a day's rest, until on the fortieth day, every limb having gone and most of the features, the poor wretch, if still alive, was beheaded. This at least is the account handed down, but it really seems quite impossible that such a punishment could have been

inflicted. No human being could survive the shock of repeated amputations, even if properly nursed and cared for. In the case of prisoners weakened by flogging and ill-treatment, shut up in the dungeons of mediaeval Italy, with no antiseptics, no surgery, and no nursing, it is quite clear that a man would be dead in a few days. Bernabò's punishments were severe, his reputation for savagery was great, and chroniclers and gossips provided this account in order to satisfy the ideas of later times as to the horrors of his rule.

Allied to this streak of savagery was the ferocious justice of some of his judgments. Dati in one of the "Novelle" tells how Bernabò, riding through the city, saw a crowd of persons. On inquiry he found they were gazing at a dead body, left in the street because the man had been too poor to pay the dues demanded for burial by the priest. Bernabò had the body taken up and buried, and he directed that beside it the priest who had refused sepulture should himself be buried alive. Another story relates how a friar was condemned to be burnt for saying that Christ Himself was poor and had no wealth. The inquisitor who had sentenced him, on being summoned before Bernabò, admitted that he had condemned the friar unjustly, knowing indeed that his words were true, and that he should have been set free. Bernabò ordered the inquisitor to be burnt "for giving false judgment and for saying what he thought would please and not caring whether it were true doctrine or not." Again, Fiorentino tells of the man who wrongfully enclosed a widow's garden. Bernabò made him dig a ditch showing the true boundary and then buried him in it. Sercambi also relates the story of a girl, Cateruzza, who had been carried off by force. Bernabò sent for the man who had done the deed, compelled him to marry Cateruzza, then had him beheaded at once, and gave his wealth as a dowry to the widow.

His contemporaries seem to have considered him a just

man, for we find him frequently praised for this characteristic. Azario says, "Truly the Lord Bernabò loved justice"; and the author of the "*Annales Mediolanes*" says, "In his cruelties was much justice." He was reputed harder in his judgments on the rich than on the poor, saying when he held open audience, "Come and fear not, ye weak, for the rich and great have their advocates whom they pay, but I will be advocate of those who cannot pay"; and the "*Lament*" says, "He held the balance true between rich and poor."

Not all of the tales are of this ruthless description; many illustrate a buffoonery which seems to have been equally characteristic. He disliked talkative people and was himself a silent man, but he was not morose or sullen. Of one of his early loves we are told that "he allowed her to say whatever she chose to him, never growing angry with her but only laughing." Sachetti knew him well, and relates many of these grotesque incidents. One is the story of the "value of Bernabò, which he estimated himself at twenty-nine denarii, for Christ Himself was sold for thirty"; this tale is also told of King John of England. Another story relates how a rich lord sent him a present of two asses and a roll of scarlet cloth, and Bernabò in reply thanked the donor warmly for parting with his friends and companions and remaining lonely without the society of his fellows.

One trick he played was to put a tiny ambassador who had come to his Court to ride an enormous horse, and Bernabò and his Court laughed violently at the vain efforts of the little man to find his stirrups, which had been purposely lengthened. Ambassadors indeed were a frequent source of mirth to him. On one occasion some came from Bologna, and presented themselves with the formula, "We are ambassadors from Bologna, if it please you." Having departed and reached Vercelli they thought of their dignity and returned to say, "Whether it please you or not, we are the ambassadors of Bologna." But Bernabò only

laughed and said he was glad they were what they believed themselves to be.

Most famous of all is the embassy sent by the Pope in 1361, who came upon him as he sat on the bridge over the Lambro. Seizing the Bull of excommunication which the two had brought, Bernabò looked at it and then down into the swift water, and turning savagely on the clerics asked them whether they would rather eat or drink. Perceiving that to drink would mean that they would be thrown to drown in the river, they chose to eat, and were thereupon forced to devour the parchment they had brought, seals and all. One of these two later became Pope Urban V and remained one of Bernabò's most implacable enemies.

The very fact that chronicles, poems, and "Novelle" all abound in stories about Bernabò show what an impression he made on his times. He was always being talked about, and not always to his disadvantage. In the popular memory transmitted through ballads and jests, he survived as fantastically just, coarse, sometimes cruel.

Such was the man who in 1354 became ruler of the eastern Milanese, which included Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, Soncino, Lodi, Valcamonica, Parma, Pontremoli, and Bologna. The claim to Bologna led, as we have already seen, direct to war with the Papacy. From the beginning of his rule to the end Bernabò is ceaselessly warring with the Church, and his whole foreign policy was in this way affected. He became the heir of the old Visconti traditions, living under excommunication and interdict, thwarting the clergy and persecuting them whenever he could, declaring himself "Pope within his own boundaries," hated and feared in his turn and pursued by this ecclesiastical rancour in the chronicles written after his death.

The struggle began immediately on the death of Marco, when Giovanni da Oleggio first tried to keep Bologna for himself, and finding that beyond his powers, called in the Papal Legate. The Pope issued a Bull against Bernabò,

who proving quite recalcitrant was excommunicated, the envoys being the wretched men of the Lambro.

For the next two years war raged with varying fortune until a general peace was concluded in 1358, followed by marriage alliances with the Gonzaga and Carrara families. Great festivities were held, and as Regina had lately given birth to a son the princes came to the christening as a sign of amity. The peace did not last long; in 1359 Bernabò again attacked Bologna, which was now given over by Oleggio to Cardinal Albornoz. The Papacy thus came into direct conflict with the Visconti, all of whose efforts to recapture the city failed. Innocent VI died in 1362, and, unfortunately for Bernabò, was succeeded by Urban V, who had been one of the ambassadors of the Lambro incident, and who therefore had a personal hatred of the violent prince. He excommunicated Bernabò on the grounds that he had forced the clergy to pay taxes and had summoned them before his courts and tried them like ordinary citizens. A crusade was preached, efforts made to rouse the Visconti's own subjects, and finally a crushing defeat was inflicted on the Milanese. In 1364 Bernabò came to terms and gave up all his castles in the Bolognese. The sentence of excommunication and interdict was removed and for a brief interval peace reigned.

When in 1367 the Pope decided on another trial of strength, Bernabò found a new supporter. This was Sir John Hawkwood, the famous English soldier known as "Acuto" to the Italians. He had come to Italy on the occasion of the marriage of Violante Visconti to Lionel Duke of Clarence. He now took command of Bernabò's army and met with great success. Each attack of the Papal troops was beaten off, culminating in two important victories at Mirandola and Rubiera. Then came a dramatic change. In 1372 Bernabò quarrelled with Acuto, it is believed over the high position in the army given to Giangaleazzo, his nephew. Acuto instantly took service

with the Pope, taking with him the victory which always followed his arms. Yet in spite of defeats in the field the Visconti held on so that the Pope, furious but helpless, could only write to Acuto that "Bernabò, that son of Belial, has lost neither city, fortress nor town of any sort."

War indeed under the auspices of *condottieri* was not likely to produce any decisive results, and after a few more months of desultory fighting a truce was arrived at. It was now that the strange character of the age received another illustration. Catherine of Siena, the saint who so loved Italy and her fellow-men, felt compelled to make some effort to stop this cruel and senseless strife. She wrote her famous letter to Acuto, in which, recognizing his real talent for warfare and the irresistible impulse he felt to use that talent, she begged him to desist from employing it against his fellow-Christians. "Since God and our Holy Father have ordered the expedition against the infidels, and since you delight so much in making war and fighting, I pray you war no more upon Christians, because it offends God; but go against those others. How cruel it is that we who are Christians should persecute one another! I am much amazed that, having promised, as I have heard, to go to die for Christ in this holy enterprise, you should now be making war here. This is not the holy disposition that God demands from you." Italy was being laid waste and was kept in continual misery. Let him leave that country and betake himself to war against the Saracens, where he would find plenty of scope for his energies and would be destroying the enemies of the Christ they both served. Her appeal fell on a deaf ear, for Acuto was not impressed by the virtues preached by the saint. He wished not only for glory in arms, but for prosperity in worldly things. The Crusader could not make of war the profitable business it was to a *condottiere*, and Acuto remained in Italy, selling his services and improving his material prospects.

His presence brought about altogether unlooked-for

results. The Pope, anxious to make the most of so valuable an employee, sent him in 1375 against the Parmigiano. Florence, up to this date the constant supporter of the Church, felt the most bitter indignation at the introduction of Acuto into Tuscany. Taking counsel with Pisa, she decided that at the moment nothing could be done but bribe the mercenaries to remove themselves. Acuto succeeded in extorting a vast subsidy, Florence producing the immense sum of 130,000 florins in gold. The matter was not, however, allowed to rest here. Florence determined that such a menace must be removed, and she took the unexpected action of allying with the Visconti, and her example was followed by Pisa, Lucca, and even Genoa. At this very moment came an outburst of rebellion in the Papal States. Town after town rose in revolt: Perugia, where feeling was especially strong against the Papacy, Città di Castello, Viterbo, and no less than eighty others within a few weeks. Florence was the leading supporter of this rising, and excitement in the city rose to boiling point as messenger after messenger rode in from all parts of the Romagna, bringing the news of fresh risings and new adherents to the League. Acuto was defeated before Viterbo, and had to retreat from before Perugia; and Florence wrote to Bernabò, "If the campaign be held out for a month, the domination of the foreigners in Italy will be made an end of for ever." Bologna in her turn joined the revolt. A Breton company enlisted by the Pope was defeated by the Florentines. In fury the Papal troops were ordered to devastate the whole countryside. Cesena, taken by the Legate, was put to the sack. It was clear that the situation was unprecedented. Determined now on victory at all costs, Bernabò and his great ally took a remarkable step: they bought over Acuto, winning him from the Papal service to their own, not only by money but by a marriage alliance. Bernabò had a daughter, Donnina, the child of his much-loved mistress Donnina dei Porri. She

was given as wife to Acuto, together with a great dowry. "The wedding was honoured by the presence of the Lady Regina and all the daughters of Bernabò, the Lady Regina giving the bride 1,000 ducats in gold in a vase." Another illegitimate daughter, Elisabetta, was at the same time married to another great *condottiere*, Lando; while a third, Riccarda, was married to a Breton leader, Bertrand de la Sale.

No sooner were the festivities over than Acuto took the field on behalf of his new father-in-law. He drove the Breton company out of Romagna, and the Pope, perceiving that for the moment nothing but disaster was to be expected, came to terms and concluded peace, actually inviting Bernabò to act as mediator between him and Florence.

The contest between the Church and Bernabò may be said to end here. The schism, beginning in 1378, altered the entire situation. Hitherto Bernabò had been concerned chiefly with what may be called a territorial struggle. Now his position was defined. He was too strong for the Papacy to crush him, but in turn he was not strong enough to extend his possessions at the expense of the Papacy.

Before turning to his wider foreign policy it is convenient to conclude his operations in Italy and his dealings with the Italian States. With Florence he had, in the earlier years of his reign, been at war. He wished to acquire Leghorn and Pisa; and in 1369, when Acuto was in his employ, he had sent an expedition to help San Miniato, then in revolt against Florence. Acuto encamped near San Miniato, and the Florentine army advanced against him. The forces met at Cascina, where Acuto pretended to retreat across the Arno. He placed some of his troops in ambush, and as the Florentines advanced confidently across the river they were fallen upon, taken by surprise, and routed. The State banner of Florence was taken and sent as a trophy to Bernabò. Acuto proceeded to ravage the territory. Sardi writes, "At my place they set fire to the woodwork,

burned my stores, beams, benches, cupboards, bedsteads, stools, and wardrobes. The Lord destroy them all ! ” This meant that the troops feeling the cold took what steps they could to keep themselves warm. An attempt to wrest San Miniato from Florence failed.

Biscia né serpe ne Giovanni Acuto
Per suo oprar non gli dara magagna.

—(SACHETTI)

Pisa also was unobtainable, but Leghorn was captured and Acuto rode insolently under the walls of Florence herself before withdrawing to Lombardy in 1370. After an interval of four years there came a change in Florentine policy towards the Papacy and the alliance with Bernabò, which has already been described. On the conclusion of the struggle in 1378, Florence and Bernabò remained on friendly terms, and Bernabò, who had paid one-third of the fee demanded by Acuto on deserting Papal service, was now able to employ his son-in-law on his own ventures.

Regina della Scala had claims on Verona, now in the hands of Cansignore. On the death of that prince Regina's brother, Bernabò, used her claims as a pretext to attack the city. He sent Acuto against the Scaligers, who appealed for help to Louis of Hungary. Louis of Hungary was at that time engaged in a quarrel with Venice. He saw in this appeal of the Scaligers an opportunity to detach Verona from her old friendship with Venice. Accordingly he decided to help Francesco Scala, who at this juncture became Lord of Verona. He sent troops and in addition gave Francesco the cities of Belluno, Feltre, and Cividale. Francesco tried to placate the Visconti and asked for a marriage alliance, but was rebuffed by Regina. Acuto and Lando defeated the Hungarians in a skirmish on the Adige, but failed to accomplish anything more. Regina and her eldest son, Marco, as being specially concerned in the acquisition of Verona, interfered unduly, as Acuto thought. Quarrels on the plan of operations led to a complete rupture.

Probably heavy bribes from the Scaligers also influenced the two mercenaries. Bernabò accused his captains, especially Lando, of not trying to take Verona, and in return both Lando and Acuto left his service.

The attempt on Verona was successful in so far that Verona, in order to obtain peace, undertook to pay a yearly tribute to Bernabò, and Acuto, after a brief interval of employment by Florence, went south to seek fortune in the war of the Neapolitan succession, being taken into the pay of Charles of Durazzo. Before he returned north the death of Bernabò had occurred.

Turning now to a wider sphere, the policy of Bernabò in foreign relations is most striking. He is the first of the Visconti who is of any real importance in European affairs. With him we enter upon the diplomatic stage. He negotiated with foreign kings, and he carried out a definite policy. Though at first sight involved, his course is in reality quite clear. The essential fact to be borne in mind is the development of Bernabò's ambition to become sole prince and ruler of the great Milanese State. His foreign alliances increased his power and prestige; they led him on insensibly, until he came to realize that only his nephew, Giangaleazzo, stood between him and the sovereignty of Milan. Dynastic alliances, leading to increased ambitions, were the cause both of Bernabò's rise and his fall.

The great question of the schism in the Papacy complicated all Italian and European affairs at this date, and in order to make Bernabò's situation clearer it is necessary to go into the matter. Gregory XI died in 1378 and the conclave to elect his successor was held in Rome. The Romans, utterly weary of an absentee Pope, and all the misgovernment of officials, were resolved on the election of an Italian, and all night long a mob would stand outside the Vatican shouting, "*Volemo lo Papa Romano o Italiano.*" On the other hand the Cardinals themselves preferred

residence at Avignon. In the outcome, the Archbishop of Bari, who, though Italian, was the nominee of the French party, was elected and took the name of Urban VI. Urban by his personal character alienated a large body of the Cardinals, who, supported by popular discontent, began to question the legality of the election. This section eventually carried their view so far as to proceed to elect Robert of Geneva, who proclaimed himself Pope under the title of Clement VII. Schism thus broke out and parties soon ranged themselves. Italy as a whole supported Urban, as did Hungary, Germany, England, and Scotland. France, upholding the French Cardinals and the Avignon party, stood by Clement ; Spain followed her example, and so did Savoy. Naples took her own line and thereby made the tangle worse. The French crown was interested in the Neapolitan succession, Louis of Anjou being one of Joanna's adopted heirs. Clement VII supported France. Joanna had been bitterly offended by Urban, and therefore herself supported Clement. In 1379 Clement, driven from Rome, went to Naples, and thence embarked for Avignon. There in the next year he sanctioned Joanna's adoption of Louis of Anjou as her heir, and promised to bestow on him a new " Kingdom of Adria," composed of the States of the Church. Louis however could not leave for Naples, since the death of his brother, Charles V of France, in 1380 left a child of twelve to ascend the throne. A Council of Regency had to be formed, and Louis was obliged to remain in France. His rival, Charles of Durazzo, took advantage of this. Urban VI, the enemy of Joanna and of course hostile to the French succession, welcomed Charles of Durazzo to Rome. Thence he marched on Naples, besieged and captured Joanna, and made himself master of the kingdom. Joanna in vain sent for help ; she was kept a close prisoner in the hope she would repudiate Louis and accept Charles as her successor.

The Neapolitan succession was one of the chief factors in Bernabò's political life, for circumstances induced him to

take an active part in the contest. Charles of Durazzo was the nephew of Louis of Hungary, and Bernabò had already come into conflict with Louis over the affair of Verona. In addition, Charles was more likely to cause trouble in Italy than Louis of Anjou, who came from a more distant country and was less familiar with Italian policy. Bernabò therefore joined the party which supported the French claim to Naples. As regarded the Pope, Bernabò would probably have preferred to accept Urban, who was supported by the bulk of Italy and who was more popular among Bernabò's own subjects. The intervention of Naples, however, on the Papacy led him to support Clement as the nominee of France. Viewing with dismay Charles of Durazzo's successful expedition to Naples, the Visconti attempted at first to form an Italian league against him. Florence, though disliking Charles, could not join by reason of an existing alliance with his uncle, Louis of Hungary. The other States supported Urban VI and preferred to remain neutral. The project fell to the ground. When the death of Joanna occurred at the beginning of 1382, Ferrara, Verona, Padua, Florence, and the other States realized too late the importance of the question. They hastily opened negotiations with Milan, but the whole position had altered. Giangaleazzo, indeed, was ready to listen to them, but Bernabò had set out on an entirely new set of negotiations. For, on receipt of the news of Joanna's captivity, Louis of Anjou determined to undertake an expedition to wrest Naples from Charles of Durazzo. He prepared to cross the Alps, and sent an embassy ahead of him to Milan. That State lay across the route to the south, and it was essential for the French to secure their communications by an alliance with the Visconti. Accordingly, Louis offered terms. He would marry his eldest son to Bernabò's daughter, Lucia, and Bernabò in return should provide him with money and troops. The offer of so splendid an alliance was not to be refused. Bernabò accepted and the treaty was signed.

Corio says that the terms arranged for a further alliance, another daughter being betrothed to the Count of Valois, while Louis promised to aid Bernabò in the conquest of Verona. Louis crossed the Alps and was met by Bernabò at Castel San Giovanni. The two went together to Piacentino and on to Parma. Thence, in August, 1381, Louis proceeded towards Naples. The betrothed pair were as yet too young for the marriage to take place, but Bernabò paid the subsidy quite regularly. In 1384 Louis found himself in difficulties; the Neapolitan war was going badly. Urban VI had visited Charles of Durazzo in Naples and had denounced Louis as a schismatic and proclaimed a crusade against him. Further help was needed, and Enguerrand de Courcy was sent to Milan to obtain it. The marriage must be pushed on and reinforcements must be sent to Naples. In August, 1384, Enguerrand entered Milan, but a few weeks later the news arrived that Louis of Anjou had died suddenly at Bisceglie of fever, by which his army was decimated. All was thrown into confusion. The French king, engaged in war with England, could not help; Louis' wife, Maria, determined to carry on the struggle and to fight for the claims of her son, Louis II, the promised husband of Lucia Visconti. She sent to Bernabò praying him "to continue that which he had begun if he wished his daughter to be Queen of Naples." Bernabò agreed readily to do all he could to help "until there should be but one Pope in the Church and but one king in Sicily." He offered to provide one-fifth of a troop of 5,000 lances, the rest to be provided by the French and the Avignon Pope. He was here binding himself clearly to support Clement, who was rapidly gaining ground in Italy. Maria obtained help from the King of France and set out for Avignon to co-operate with Clement. All was in train for the dispatch of a second Neapolitan expedition when once more tragic news was brought to her post haste. This time the announcement was of the fate which had overtaken Bernabò.

For the policy of that prince had produced striking results. He had now for some years been engaged in a dynastic policy, aiming at the aggrandisement of his family. He had been so successful that it had become clear to Giangaleazzo that his uncle could not long be expected to content himself with but the half of the Milanese State. The French marriage would give Bernabò final encouragement, while at the same time it would deprive Giangaleazzo of his last support. Isabella of Valois had died in 1372 in giving birth to a son, Carlo, who also died. Giangaleazzo could still hope for support from his feeble relative, Charles VI of France, nephew to the late Isabella, but were Bernabò to be thus closely allied to Louis of Anjou, then his influence at the French Court would outweigh that of Giangaleazzo. Elsewhere Bernabò had formed a whole network of powerful alliances, especially with the rulers of South Germany. His vast array of sons and daughters had here proved very useful. One daughter, Taddea, had married Stephen of Bavaria, and her youthful daughter, Isabella, of Bavaria, was now destined to become the wife of Charles VI of France. The marriage indeed, with all the fearful consequences which it was destined to entail, took place in July, 1385. Another daughter, Maddalena, married Frederick Duke of Bavaria in 1382. A third, Verde, had married Leopold of Austria in 1365. A fourth, Valenza, married Peter King of Cyprus in 1365. Agnese had married Gonzaga Marquis of Mantua. His son Charles, married Beatrice of Armagnac. Other equally splendid matches had been the subject of negotiations. Sicily had attracted Bernabò's attention, and as far back as 1377 a marriage had been arranged between his daughter Antonia and King Frederick III. It had, however, been stopped by the untimely death of Frederick, and Antonia in 1380 married the Count of Würtemberg. A proposal was then made that the heiress Maria of Sicily should marry Giangaleazzo, now a widower. Great pains were taken over

this proposal, which was not at all to Bernabò's taste. He made a will at this time, in which any heirs of Giangaleazzo and Maria were to be the last persons to inherit his Milanese territories. In the end his dislike of the proposal grew so strong that he determined to prevent the marriage. Maria at this juncture had been carried off by Moncada, a rebel noble. Giangaleazzo wished to set out to her rescue, but the galleys with which he was to sail were destroyed in port by the Aragonese. Caterina di Bernabò had been proposed as a wife for Richard II of England, and an embassy was then carrying on negotiations. These were suddenly withdrawn. Giangaleazzo was induced to abandon his journey to Maria, and was instead persuaded to marry his cousin Caterina, the wedding taking place at San Giovanni in Conca in November, 1380. This marriage has been the source of much speculation. It was later one of the grounds of complaint against Bernabò that he had prevented Giangaleazzo from contracting any alliances beyond the Visconti family. His only sister, the widowed Violante, was married to Ludovico, Bernabò's second son. She was an extraordinarily unfortunate woman in her marriages. Her first bridegroom, Lionel of Clarence, had died within a few weeks of their wedding. Her second, the Marquis of Montferrat, married her in 1377 and was killed in 1378. She was married to Ludovico di Bernabò, her third, in 1381; he was imprisoned by Giangaleazzo in 1385 and she never set eyes on him again, though he lived until 1404. Giangaleazzo's only daughter, Valentina, was now betrothed to Bernabò's son Carlo; his little son Azzone, it was suggested, should be betrothed to Bernabò's little daughter Elisabetta, called "Piccinina," and be recognized as Giangaleazzo's heir. Azzone's death in October, 1381, rendered this plan useless. The marriage with Caterina is seen by some as an attempt on Giangaleazzo's part to propitiate Bernabò and win safety for himself. Others believed it to be a plot whereby Bernabò thought he could establish his daughter

as a spy upon his nephew. The famous accusation against Bernabò charges him with endeavouring by evil means to disturb the relations between husband and wife, and of preventing by witchcraft the birth of children to Caterina. In actual fact the marriage proved a successful one. Caterina seems to have worked loyally with her husband and to have identified her interests with his. She gave him the heirs he wished for, and apparently took her husband's part in the contest against her father.

Bernabò's lack of political vision is illustrated by the settlement of his possessions, which he had made shortly before this. In 1379 he had confirmed a previous will by which his territories, instead of being handed on intact to his heir, were divided between his sons. The eldest, Marco, was given half of Milan; Rudolfo received Bergamo, Soncino, and the Ghiara d'Adda; Ludovico, Lodi and Cremona; Carlo, Parma, Crema, and Borgo San Donnino; the youngest, Mastino, who was still a child, was to have Brescia, Riviera, and the Valcamonica. Each one was sent to live in the city assigned to him. Until the death of their father they were to act as his lieutenants, but at his death each one was to be absolute ruler over his share. The plan had nothing to recommend it and is in striking contrast to the policy later adopted by Giangaleazzo. The division however possibly brought home still more the fact that while so many heirs existed there was but half of the Milanese State to be divided amongst them.

The secret hostility between Bernabò and his nephew, existing for the years preceding the match between Louis of Anjou and Lucia, was by that proposal forced into the open. The position was clear: on the one side was Bernabò, full of ambition and vigour, with his numerous sons to support him, and a whole host of powerful connexions by marriage. On the other was Giangaleazzo, alone, without brothers or sons, and with no allies. His one source of support, the French crown, hitherto friendly to him as the widowed

husband of the king's aunt, was now threatened. If Bernabò secured the French alliance he need no longer fear to seize that half of the Milanese State which his nephew held. Nor did it seem as if Giangaleazzo would offer any resistance, or that such efforts as he might make were to be feared. Reputed timid and a weakling, given up to the practices of religion, he lived in great retirement at Pavia. His early experiences of warfare seemed forgotten, and he appeared wholly given up to little pilgrimages and ostentatious performances of religious vows. To his small Court at Pavia came the news of the "great feasts and high revelry" with which Bernabò prepared to celebrate his daughter's marriage. The "Lament of Bernabò," written by a contemporary, describes the situation: "The friends of the Count Giangaleazzo said to each other with downcast eyes, 'Now what will he do with all the men here assembled?' Oh! God, guard the Count in these days." A friend writes to warn him not to come near Milan, and his mother tells him what she fears from his uncle: "Bernabò is making fresh alliances with France. If he becomes related to the king he will seize upon your sovereignty." Giangaleazzo saw what was before him and decided that the moment had come to risk all. He wrote to Bernabò, telling him that on May 5th he should be passing near Milan on his way to make a vow at the shrine of the Madonna del Monte, near Varese, and that he should like to pay his respects to his uncle if Bernabò could come and meet him for a brief interval. Bernabò, scoffing at his priest-ridden nephew, replied that he would ride out and meet him on the way. Giangaleazzo set out from Pavia with an armed escort of five hundred lances, headed by Jacopo da Verme. As they neared the bridge from San Ambrogio to San Vittore, where the Porta di San Ambrogio now stands, they saw Bernabò's troop approaching, and with what feelings must Giangaleazzo have satisfied himself that it was a very small one? Bernabò, with his two eldest sons Rodolfo and

Ludovico (Marco had died in 1382), rode up ; they were at once surrounded by Giangaleazzo's men and found themselves prisoners. The victor in this brief affair, which passed without any attempt at resistance on the part of his enemies, rode on in triumph into Milan. The populace welcomed him as a deliverer, for the reports of his mild rule had predisposed them in his favour. A mob rushed at once to sack Bernabò's palace and burn all his archives. Giangaleazzo secured the Castello di Porta Romana with Bernabò's treasure, 700,000 florins in gold and much silver. Bernabò was first imprisoned at the Porta Giovia, which had always been held by Giangaleazzo as part of his share of Milan, and was later sent to the fortress of Trezzo. He lived in strict captivity for six months and died on December 19, 1385. Some said that his death was due to poison, but for this there is no contemporary evidence, and a modern writer declares he died " of the same illness as Napoleon I—disappointed ambition." He was buried in San Giovanni in Conca with great splendour, and a magnificent tomb and statue were erected as his memorial. The splendid statue is to be seen to-day in the museum of the Castello. It represents Bernabò seated high on his war-horse, recalling the well-known effigy of Can Grande at Verona. He wears armour, and his attitude gives an immediate impression of boldness and strength. Even the casual passer-by would notice the figure and feel that here was a warrior of the old type, vigorous and full of fierce energy. His two sons were imprisoned for life in San Colombano.

Bernabò's ruin was as complete as it was sudden. After that one scene on the road he vanished completely from the life of Milan. No effort was made to save him by his subjects. When Giangaleazzo's coup was made known a general council was held in the city, and Milan formally recognized Giangaleazzo and his descendants as lords.

His surviving son, Carlo, fled at once, and though Carlo tried to stir up disaffection against Giangaleazzo he never

succeeded. The foreign sons-in-law, after Bernabò himself was dead, made one feeble attempt to overthrow his successor, but readily allowed themselves to be bought off. This speaks for itself. Bernabò was not regretted, and none wished to see him restored to liberty and power. Regina had died in the preceding June, but Donnina dei Porri is said to have visited him in his prison at Trezzo. In the "Lament," written in the form of words spoken by Bernabò, he is made to say that all his misfortunes have come from his own wrong-doing. Certainly he had done little to win either affection or respect. He had been a harsh ruler, intent only on the aggrandisement of his children. His removal from the scene was welcomed, for in Giangaleazzo the people believed themselves to have a ruler from whom they could hope for better things.

CHAPTER VIII

GIANGALEAZZO

Giangaleazzo, character and education—Good government—*Foreign policy* of his reign—The Neapolitan question—French alliance—Marriage of Valentina—Kingdom of Adria—The *voie de fait*—Expedition of Stephen of Bavaria and of Armagnac—Peace of Genoa—Bernabò's heirs—League of Bologna—Alliance with Wenceslas and creation of the Duchy of Milan—Expedition of Emperor Rupert defeated—*Home policy*, conquest of Verona and Padua—Birth of an heir—League of Florence and Bologna—War against the Republic—Peace of Genoa—Mantuan League, second War—Truce of 1398—Acquisition of Perugia and Siena—Advance in Tuscany—Florence calls in the Emperor—Advance on Florence—Death of Giangaleazzo—Estimate of his career.

GIOVANNI GALEAZZO, or Giangaleazzo, as he was called, was the greatest of all the Visconti. He had wonderful abilities, and made use of them. Under him Milan became a great State, feared and respected throughout Italy, and Machiavelli saw in the achievements of Giangaleazzo the possibilities which he foreshadowed in "Il Principe." Yet up to the time when he seized power from Bernabò, Giangaleazzo had not shown signs of greatness. He was reputed to be delicate and timid, though in his early campaigns he had done quite creditably ; but after the death of his father he had led a very retired life. Possibly in this way he hoped to shield himself from his uncle. He had lived at Pavia, occupied chiefly with his studies and much given to religious observances. Later events showed that he was most certainly not lacking in courage of any kind, and we can only conclude that he was biding his time and seeking to divert Bernabò's suspicions by leading him to suppose that nothing was to be feared from his nephew. Yet these years of quietness and study were of permanent value to Giangaleazzo, for they enabled

him to read widely and to form ideas of government based on those of the ancient Greeks, which he was later able to put into practice. In the mere fact that he was consciously a ruler, acting upon well thought out theories of government and politics, we have one of the great differences between Giangaleazzo and his forerunners. He is a modern prince with modern ideas, and in many respects we can draw nearer to him than to any of his contemporaries.

The man who was to have so remarkable a career, who was to defeat three foreign invasions, conquer many cities and States, and attempt an early union of Northern Italy, was now about twenty-seven years old. There has been much controversy over the exact year of his birth, which was given differently on his monument and in various authorities. It seems now to be established that he was born at Milan towards the end of 1351, probably in October, on the vigil of San Gallo. His mother was Bianca of Savoy, who had married Galeazzo II in September, 1350. There is a story told that when Petrarch was visiting Milan, Giangaleazzo, aged eight, was told by his father to pick out the wisest man among the company, and the boy at once crossed the room and took Petrarch by the hand. A picture of the incident was painted for the Castello.

At the age of nine he was married to Isabella of Valois (October, 1360), and four years later the young couple set up house together, Giangaleazzo being then twelve and a half years old. Their first child, a daughter, was born in 1366, and was called Valentina. She it was who, by her French marriage, was destined to give rise to the French claims on Milan, which were to be the cause of such disaster in future years. Three sons were born to them; the eldest, called Giangaleazzo after his father, died in infancy; the second, Azzone, died as a child in 1381, but survived his young mother, who herself died in 1372 in giving birth to the last baby, Carlo, who did not live.

In person Giangaleazzo was extremely handsome. He

was very tall, over six feet in height, with the hair of reddish-gold common amongst the Visconti. He wore a short, pointed beard, and his eyes were a clear grey. When his tomb was opened in 1889, his skeleton was that of a tall, splendidly developed man, and the short, pointed beard was still reddish-gold. He was a good horseman and had been brought up by his father to take part in the various campaigns of that troubled reign. He was a good linguist, knowing French, German, and Latin. The great library at Pavia contained a number of books and manuscripts of all descriptions, including the works of Dante and Petrarch, Plato, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, the early Fathers, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and many others. During the years when he apparently withdrew to live a life of quiet and humiliation he gave himself up to study the humanities, law, classics, and jurisprudence. He also tried to win himself allies by making friends with his father's rivals, and bought the friendship of Amadeus VII of Savoy by giving up some land to him. In 1378 the Vicariate granted by Charles of Luxemburg lapsed and Giangaleazzo took care to get it renewed. With the death of Isabella in 1372 his difficulties increased. Bernabò undoubtedly prevented the match with Maria of Aragon, and forced on the marriage with his own daughter, Caterina. Probably Giangaleazzo now realized how closely he was hemmed in; his plots against Bernabò certainly date from this period, followed as it was by the unmistakable threat involved in the marriage of Lucia di Bernabò and Louis of Anjou. At the same time Giangaleazzo set his own house in order. He began all sorts of reforms: he relieved the burden of taxation, put down the greed of the officials, reformed the customs and purified the administration of justice. He sent new officials to places where old ones had been found corrupt. He encouraged religion, and spent more time than usual in the churches. Bernabò sneered at him for lessening the oppression of his father's rule and for trying to please his subjects.

Yet it is undoubted that to his policy of reform Giangaleazzo owed the public support which secured him in his seizure of Milan. No attempt was ever made by his subjects against him. From the day when Bernabò disappeared within the fortress of Trezzo to the day of Giangaleazzo's death, twenty years later, his hold over his dominions was secure. His power was based on the solid benefits of his rule.

Thus the beginning of his reign saw the inauguration of much-needed reforms: a political amnesty was proclaimed, taxation was reduced, justice was purified. In one notable respect Giangaleazzo acted on the same lines as the Kings of England: he compelled the clergy to pay their share of taxation, thus checking the power of privilege and securing an equitable income for the State. The Duke had the right to present to benefices, subject to Papal ratification. He ordered a revision of the statutes and encouraged the study of Roman law. The magistrates were given power to proceed against criminals, and the administration of justice was centralized and improved. A *Consiglio di Giustizia* was set up, which acted as a court of appeal. The *Consiglio Segreto* supervised administration, saw to the pay of the army, and such-like matters. Under him the annual revenue of the State was estimated at 1,200,000 gold florins, with an additional 100,000 in extra-ordinary subsidies.

Had not this been the case he could hardly have maintained his position. Bernabò left many to carry on the feud, and the whole of Giangaleazzo's foreign policy was coloured by the need to overcome these enmities. At first matters went well. He sent round to all Courts the "justification" for his action, explaining the accusations which he brought against his uncle. Venice accepted the reasons given by Giangaleazzo for deposing Bernabò; so eventually did Florence. Bernabò's only surviving grown-up son, Carlo, in vain begged for help from the various rulers of Northern Italy. He wandered through Mantua, Crema,

Parma trying to stir up the princes, but no one would help him. He appealed to Hawkwood, his brother-in-law, who was incensed against Giangaleazzo for personal reasons. The prince had imprisoned Donnina, mother of Acuto's wife, and had declared her tardy marriage with Bernabò null and void, thus maintaining the illegitimacy of her children. Hawkwood was however appeased by bribery and took service with Giangaleazzo in July. Carlo himself was a worthless young man who earned contempt and dislike. The Marquis of Mantua preferred to enter into a pact with Giangaleazzo to rid Italy of free companies. A league was formed, and a blue banner inscribed with the word "Pax" was chosen as its ensign. Beyond this the project did not come to anything, and indeed some have seen in it only a trick of Giangaleazzo's to win the friendship of his neighbours at this critical time. In the end Carlo crossed the Alps to his brothers-in-law of Bavaria. His little brother, Mastino, went to Venice, where he accepted a pension from Giangaleazzo and gave no further trouble, and Giangaleazzo was left to develop his plans in Italy.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF GIANGALEAZZO

Giangaleazzo's foreign policy was from first to last concerned with three very difficult problems. First he had to counteract the great influence of Bernabò's various children at the Courts of Germany and France. Secondly, he had to steer clear of the endless difficulties and complications created by the Schism and the presence of one of the Popes in France. Thirdly, he had to strive with all his might to meet the various invaders who, at the instigation of either Bernabò's heirs or the Papacy, led their armies across the Alps.

His relations with France show how all three became entangled. She was the ally to whom he most readily

tuned ; but, though friendly at first, she was to be influenced by Bernabò's heirs. Yet while he remained on good terms with her he had to avoid committing himself to the support of the Avignon Pope.

The French line was clear. Louis of Anjou's claims to Naples must be satisfied, either by the conquest of Naples or by alternative compensation. When French military power was in the ascendant, schemes of conquest went forward ; when it waned, recourse was had to Clement VII and attempts at a " new Kingdom " begun. Charles of Durazzo in 1385 was induced to return to Hungary, where the death of his uncle Louis and the misgovernment of the regent, Queen Elizabeth, had caused great disorders. Charles attempted to secure the Kingdom for himself, but his plans were put an end to by his assassination in February, 1386. He was killed by Nicolas Gara, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and left as his heir his little son Ladislas, who was twelve years of age. The House of Anjou had also lost its head by the death of Louis in 1384, but his widow was prepared to fight for her son's claims. A fresh expedition was dispatched, under the captaincy of Otto of Brunswick and blessed by Clement VII. Any French expedition had to be assured of Visconti friendliness, and this Maria secured, though she was not very anxious to fall in with the plans of Giangaleazzo. Giangaleazzo, for his part, felt it necessary to keep up the French alliance. In the dangerous period after Bernabò's fall he did not care to run any risks that could be avoided ; he preferred to keep up an alliance rather than break it. Yet one great difference between his policy and Bernabò's must be noted : Bernabò had aimed simply at dynastic alliances, and his French marriage had been nothing more. Giangaleazzo went far beyond this, and his alliance had a political rather than a dynastic significance. He had a powerful enemy to fear at the French Court in the person of Isabella of Bavaria, daughter of Taddea Visconti and granddaughter of Bernabò. Isa-

bella's fierce, cruel nature and unbridled passions indeed show a close affinity to those of Bernabò, and as the "she-wolf of France" she was destined to involve the country in the terrible civil wars of the Burgundians and Armagnacs. She was, in addition, the unwavering enemy of her cousin Giangaleazzo, and from the moment of her arrival in France in 1385 she never ceased working against him with all her influence.

In order to counteract the effects of her wedding Giangaleazzo revived the idea of a Franco-Visconti match, substituting his own daughter Valentina for Lucia, and the king's brother Louis Duke of Touraine, and later Duke of Orleans, for the former bridegroom, Louis of Anjou. This meant for the French the establishment of Angevin rule in Naples and Orleanist influence in the north and centre. The Antipope Clement was induced to accept the idea of a kingdom of Adria to be carved out of the States of the Church and given to Touraine. Clement in return for these concessions expected to see France adhering closely to the celebrated policy of the *voie de fait*, that is, the establishment of the supremacy of the Avignon Pope in Italy by force of arms. This policy was now officially adopted by the French Court, and had the support, not only of the king, but of his uncles Burgundy and Berry. The negotiations were begun in 1386 and the contract was signed in April, 1387, Isabella being powerless to prevent this, for all the negotiations were carried on whilst her husband and his brother were in Flanders. By the terms of the contract Valentina was to take with her as dowry the city of Asti and the immense sum of 450,000 florins in money. On the fatal question as to whether any claims on Milan, derived through her, were abandoned by Louis or not, it is idle to speculate. By a series of fatalities Valentina's heirs were destined to be the sole legitimate heirs of Giangaleazzo and the heirs also of the French crown. That being so, their claims were bound to be prosecuted, for history has repeat-

edly shown that the renunciations of one generation carry no weight with the next. Valentina did not leave Italy until July, 1389. When she finally reached the French Court her beauty and charm produced a great effect. She had the Visconti chestnut hair, accompanied in her case by black eyes. Her natural charms were greatly helped by the glories of her trousseau, which included some marvellous jewels and dresses. She was a far more welcome companion to the poor, weak-minded Charles VI than his own violent wife. Indeed, the influence which she acquired over him was so great as to lead to her ultimate downfall. For the present however she was triumphant, and was able to do much to assist her father, now hard pressed.

Events in Italy indeed moved quickly. Otto of Brunswick led the French troops into Naples. At first he met with great success. He drove Ladislas and his mother out of Naples, and with the sanction of Clement VII sold all the treasures of the Church to provide pay for his troops (September, 1387). Pope Urban VI at once placed that kingdom under an interdict, and the people in their misery broke out into revolt. Brunswick's troops, probably with his connivance, went over to the support of Urban, their defection being a terrible blow not only to the House of Anjou, but to Clement VII. Now came into prominence the plans for a central Italian kingdom, which Clement suggested should be created as compensation for Anjou. The nucleus was to be the Romagnol possessions of the Malatesta—Rimini, Pesaro, Fossombrone, Imola, Forli, and Bertinoro. Such a scheme was mere moonshine, but it kept the various Courts busy. Preparations were set on foot in France for a great expedition to Italy, which was to end the schism by securing the triumph of Clement in Rome, to prosecute the war on behalf of Anjou in Naples, and to set up the new Kingdom of Adria for Louis of Touraine. Clement himself took the line that Giangaleazzo would welcome this endowment for his son-in-law; nothing in

reality was farther from the Milanese prince's wishes. He already disliked French interference in Italy, and again and again we find him casting round for means whereby he could prevent it. At this juncture he was occupied with other foes. The French advance was forestalled by an imperial one. Giangaleazzo's extraordinary success in seizing first Verona and then Padua had given a great shock to the Italian powers. Florence in particular was appalled at the new and startling light in which Giangaleazzo appeared, and she became hostile to him. More dangerous still, Francesco Carrara, the dispossessed Lord of Padua, fled across the Alps to Bavaria. There his protests and pleadings had more effect on the Bavarian princes than those of Carlo Visconti. Stephen III prepared to invade Milan and collected an army with that object. He had however to secure the consent of Venice before he could cross the Alpine passes. Giangaleazzo had foreseen this, and won the friendship of Venice by giving her Treviso. The passes were not opened to Stephen until such delays had taken place as to ruin the hopes of his enterprise. Florence had joined with Bologna and sought French aid against Milan, and her requests were backed by Isabella. Carlo and Mastino, together with their cousin Luchino, all met at Florence, and together with Hawkwood, whose arms had been bought by the great republic, they warred against Giangaleazzo. Stephen of Bavaria was given a *condotta* by Florence and Bologna, and at length, in 1390, he crossed the Alps. He had in reality come too late, thanks to the delay created by Venice. Francesca Carrara was safely back in Padua and refused to help his allies. Hawkwood defeated the Milanese army under dal Verme and drove it from before Bologna. Verona wavered in her allegiance, and Giangaleazzo's troops were forced to retreat across the Po. Stephen however had not brought enough troops; he had arrived at Padua with only 800 lances instead of 12,000. He knew, through Isabella, that France was not in agreement with his advance, and he

therefore refused to cross the Adige. He remained waiting about at Padua, and occupied himself by marrying the widow of Charles of Durazzo. Florence in vain tried to stir him up, and at last, convinced that he had allowed himself to be tampered with by Giangaleazzo, she deprived him of his *condotta*, and he retreated across the Alps. He had accomplished nothing except a demonstration of the power and wiles of the Prince of Milan.

Giangaleazzo was now far stronger than he had been, and was able to take a free line and follow his own ideas. He was helped by the death of Urban VI in 1389 and the accession of Boniface IX, who was far more influential than Urban had been and who received more support against Clement. Urban by his violence had alienated many, but Boniface IX adopted a policy of conciliation. He supported Ladislas of Naples, whose campaigns against the French were not meeting with success.

Florence however was still hot against Giangaleazzo, and, undeterred by the collapse of Stephen of Bavaria, she now prepared to support another invader. This was John of Armagnac, one of the greatest nobles in France, whose sister Beatrice had married Carlo Visconti. Armagnac declared that as no one else would avenge Bernabò he would take up that duty and restore his son. He collected an army, largely composed of a "company" coming from the English wars. Florence, which by now had ample experience of Carlo's folly and vices, was not warm in his behalf, but agreed that Armagnac should attack Milan. For her part she gave Carlo very small pay and would not allow him in her camp. In March, 1391, the Dukes of Burgundy and Touraine visited Milan. They told Giangaleazzo that the king would forbid Armagnac's expedition, but Burgundy undertook to try more efficacious measures, and heavy bribes were to be offered. Charles was induced to order the passes to be closed, but too late: Armagnac with a mixed force of Gascons and Bretons slipped across the Alps into

Piedmont. Giangaleazzo tried even then to buy him off, and volunteered to admit the claims of Beatrice if Armagnac would be neutral. John refused, and pushed on to Florence, secure of the support of Queen Isabella and paying no heed to the prohibitions of the king. He failed however to effect a junction with the Florentine contingent under Hawkwood, being behind time, and Acuto had already retreated across the Adige. The Milanese army under dal Verme made a wonderful forced march, and beneath the walls of Alessandria a decisive battle was fought, July, 1391. The French were annihilated, and Armagnac himself was killed. Milan gave herself up to rejoicing; religious processions were organized for three days as a thank-offering and bonfires burnt in the streets all night. She had destroyed the foreigner who had intruded into Italy at the instigation of Florence. Giangaleazzo did not fail to point this out, and attach the moral: "It is better," he wrote to Florence, "that Italians should hold Italy rather than afford a foothold to the French."

War did not cease with the defeat of Armagnac; his ally, Florence, continued the struggle for a few more months. Hawkwood won an indecisive victory at Tizzana, but the victory of Giangaleazzo at Cascina induced Florence to come to terms. In January, 1392, the peace of Genoa was signed. Festivities took place in Milan to mark the success with which Giangaleazzo had come out of the long contest. At the great tournament eighty knights jousted, half being dressed in red and half in white, the victor receiving a little model of a lion covered with pearls. Two years later Hawkwood died, and Giangaleazzo no longer had to fear his intervention in any of the disputes which still raged. For the peace of Genoa was little more than a truce. Giangaleazzo tried in vain to come to terms with Carlo; negotiations only resulted in a temporary settlement, for Carlo would never keep any terms if he thought he could better his condition by breaking them. Thus after the

death of Armagnac he accepted a pension of 1,000 gold florins a month, " while he renounced fully all claims to the Lordship of Milan, both through his father and his mother," and pledged himself not to come within the Milanese boundaries.

At the same time Giangaleazzo sought to consolidate other alliances. He renewed his league with Genoa, where the Doge was favourable to him, and was kept so by bribes. Bologna was also friendly, and a treaty was negotiated with Montferrat, on the basis of mutual aid against the mercenaries and " other joint enemies." Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua was also reckoned a friend; he had married Bernabò's daughter Agnese, who, being a violent and revengeful lady, never ceased to oppose her husband's friendship with Giangaleazzo. When Padua was retaken by the Carrara, Agnese had danced and rejoiced and been beaten by her husband for so doing. Now she committed a more grievous fault; she was tried by the *podestà* in February, 1391, for unfaithfulness to her husband. Her lover, Antonio di Scandiano, confessed, and she was executed on the Piazza. Some people saw in this nothing but a manœuvre on the part of Giangaleazzo to remove one of Bernabò's children; but, in fact, after the death of Agnese, Francesco did not remain on friendly terms with Milan, and soon went over to the enemy.

Now came an unfortunate change in France. The poor king, in the summer of 1392, went suddenly mad, and though he had lucid intervals he became unfit for governing. He refused to see his wife, preferring Valentina's more soothing manners. Isabella instantly spread the story that Valentina by her sorceries was responsible for the king's madness. Louis made no effort to defend his wife, and the popular outcry became so great that Valentina was obliged to withdraw from Court and take up her residence at Blois. Isabella was triumphant, and plunged at once into the intrigues with Philip of Burgundy, bitter enemy of Louis,

which led to civil war. She was not however able to control foreign policy, for there the king's brother and the great nobles checked her. Indeed, relations with Italy had changed also: a fresh League had come into being, this time called the "League of Bologna," the members being Bologna, Florence, Padua, Ferrara, Mantua, Faenza, Ravenna, Imola, while help was offered by Bernard of Armagnac and also by Bavaria, whose offer Florence indignantly refused. Giangaleazzo received notice of this from Benedict IX and instantly set to work to negotiate with France. His plans were very complicated. On the one hand, he pretended the new League was against France and offered a close alliance, while he begged that France would not interfere in the question of Bernabò's heirs, nor allow any Frenchman to do so. On the other hand, he was really determined to prevent any French expedition to Italy, and feared that one was impending in support of Clement VII. Charles VI agreed to leave the question of Bernabò's heirs alone, but he was anxious to arbitrate in the quarrel between Bavaria and Milan; he was also anxious to obtain from Giangaleazzo a definite declaration of support for Clement VII. This Giangaleazzo would not give, saying that he would be prepared to support Clement in the event of the French army coming into Italy. Negotiations dragged on, and were complicated by the quarrel between Orleans and the Duke of Burgundy over the Regency. Valentina was living in exile away from the Court and could not help her father. Burgundy and the Queen united against Milan and entered into relations with Florence. Giangaleazzo saw that the French alliance was weakening. However, in September, 1394, the death of Clement VII relieved Giangaleazzo of many anxieties. The talk of a kingdom in Middle Italy for Louis of Touraine, now Duke of Orleans, was definitely abandoned. Orleans himself was invited by a party in Genoa to come and take over the suzerainty of the city and prepared an

expedition, and the way was clear for negotiations with Bavaria.

The close of the year 1394 saw Giangaleazzo's diplomacy completely successful. He first made an offensive and defensive treaty with Louis of Orleans, by which Louis undertook not to interfere in the affairs of Lombardy, while Giangaleazzo renounced all views on Bologna and Genoa. Then came the Bavarian treaty. Negotiations proceeded smoothly. It was agreed that Elizabeth, who with Lucia was the only remaining unmarried daughter of Bernabò, should marry Ernest Duke of Bavaria. Her sister Anglesia had been betrothed shortly before to Frederick of Nuremberg. The Dukes of Bavaria were now to become recognized relations of Giangaleazzo and were not to work against him on the suggestion of nearer relatives. A dowry of 75,000 crowns was to be provided, and a great list exists of the jewels to be given, which included "a pearl head-dress with rubies," and others valued at 10,000 florins; and the marriage took place by proxy at Pavia. Elizabeth, however, never went to Bavaria, for the Bavarian dukes at this juncture quarrelled amongst themselves, and for two years civil war raged. Giangaleazzo raised no objection to the delay, for he had secured his own ends, and besides it was not convenient to pay the remaining 25,000 florins due for the dowry.

Now came the climax of Giangaleazzo's achievement. The French alliance having become so doubtful, owing to the supremacy of Isabella, he decided to seek support elsewhere: he turned his attention to central Europe and began negotiations with the Empire. The Emperor Wenceslas was weak and unpopular; he was open to bribery, and by paying an enormous sum Giangaleazzo obtained from him the title of Duke of Milan.

The coronation took place in the Piazza di San Ambrogio, where stands were erected covered with purple cloth, banners with the arms of the Empire and the Visconti were



held on each side of the throne. Giangaleazzo knelt and swore fealty to the Emperor. The mantle was put around his shoulders and the cap placed upon his head by the Emperor's lieutenant. The clergy sang a hymn of praise to God, and Pietro Filargo pronounced a eulogy on the duke. Amid scenes of great splendour he rode, clad in the ducal mantle and wearing the ducal cap, to the old court of the Arrengo, where tables for all the guests were spread in the open air. The Bishop of Novara gave an oration, and ambassadors from Venice, Florence, Bologna, and Sicily attended the banquets and jousts which celebrated the event. At the great banquet the guests feasted off a stag roasted whole, pork, chickens, goat, boars, peacocks, partridge, lampreys, trout, and sturgeon. In between the courses they washed their fingers in scented water, brought round in golden bowls. All the plate used was of gold, and musicians played during the hours the entertainment lasted. Gifts for all present were brought in at the end, and included vases of gold and silver, collars, rings of gold and jewels, brocades, and horses. The dukedom was to be hereditary and descend to heirs male; it included Lodi, Crema, Cremona, Brescia, Bergamo, Como, Lugano, Bellinzona, Bormio, the Valtellina, Novara, Alessandria, Tortona, Vercelli, Pontremoli, Bobbio, Sarzana, Verona, Vicenza, Feltre, Belluno, Bassano, Parma, Piacenza, Reggio and Arezzo. Pavia was made a separate county and included Pavia, Valenza, and Casale.

The "tyrant and usurper" had become a lawful prince. Such a title had been in Giangaleazzo's mind for some time. In his proposals to France he had asked that in the event of Charles VI becoming Emperor he should make him a duke, and Clement VII was to do the same if he had the power. The Bavarian princes had helped to smooth the way, and Wenceslas had thought he could take the step. In this he was mistaken. No one could controvert the position of the new duke, but the German princes fell upon Wenceslas, and

the granting of the title was one of the chief reasons put forward for his deposition, on the ground that he had diminished the rights of the Empire in Italy.

The fall of Wenceslas was unfortunate for Milan. During the five years which followed the creation of the dukedom Giangaleazzo was chiefly occupied with his conquests in Italy. He avoided trouble with France over Genoa by ceding his claims to the French king. Isabella, aided by Bernard of Armagnac, stirred up Florence and Carrara, but Giangaleazzo far more than held his own. Any idea of a French expedition unfriendly to Milan was put an end to by the news of the crushing defeat of Hungary by the Turks at Nicopolis. A very large number of the French nobility had gone to serve in the Hungarian army, and their loss made further military effort impossible. Another ally for Milan in South Germany was sought in the Landgrave of Thuringia, whose son Frederick was betrothed to Lucia Visconti. Poor Lucia had never yet obtained a husband. Louis of Anjou had long since been lost; proposals by John of Gaunt for her to marry his son Henry of Hereford, later Henry IV, were refused on account of the quarrel between Henry and Richard II, with whom Giangaleazzo wished to remain on good terms. Now she was once more betrothed with due formality to the Thuringian prince and a dowry of 75,000 florins promised. Trouble was brewing in Germany, and Thuringia was reported the enemy of Rupert of Bavaria, who was threatening to make himself Emperor. The alliance was a failure. A league of German princes was formed by Rupert in May, 1399, and Thuringia joined it with the rest. In 1400 came the deposition of Wenceslas and the accession of Rupert of the Palatinate, who at once entered into an alliance with Isabella and Armagnac. In vain did King Charles VI and Orleans support Giangaleazzo. Rupert relied upon the queen, sent for Carlo Visconti, made a treaty with Florence, and in September, 1401, crossed the Alps. His avowed intention was to depose Giangaleazzo as

a usurper. His expedition was brought to an end even more speedily than the previous ones of Stephen and Armagnac ; he reached Brescia on October 21, 1401, and was completely defeated by Giangaleazzo's army under the command of Terzo and Facino Cane. Rupert retired and interfered no further in Italy. Giangaleazzo made a speech to the Venetian ambassadors : " Florence," he said, " according to her wont, brought into Italy the French and the Germans, strange and barbarous nations, enemies of the Italian name, and would have set over Italians those whom Nature, by the barrier of the Alps, has excluded from Italy. And such is their blindness that they do not see that if the French and the Germans come into Italy it will be the common ruin of all Italians, and will ruin them as well as the rest."

With this final repulse of the invaders Giangaleazzo's work in the realm of foreign policy may be said to close. He was full of activity and more powerful than ever, but he was not destined to have much longer to live. Though his negotiations were complicated, and his foreign affairs closely intertwined with the struggle which he was perpetually making in Italy, yet the main lines of his policy are clear. He was surrounded by Bernabò's heirs, and he continually strove by alliances to counteract that influence. France and South Germany alike had to be won. He was not able solely through diplomacy to ward off trouble ; his enemies were strong enough to bring about the three invading expeditions. He beat back those expeditions, and once more built up alliances, but through every event he saw clearly the need for keeping the foreigner out. Thus, though many saw in his premature death the salvation of Italy, it seems clear that they were mistaken : Italy was to go down under the foreign expeditions of the next century, and, as the best political minds saw, she could have been saved only by a strong prince who would have kept out the foreigner ; such a prince was Giangaleazzo.

ITALIAN POLICY OF GIANGALEAZZO

Great as were his achievements in foreign affairs, Giangaleazzo accomplished even more in Italy. His conquests extended the boundaries of Milan farther than would have seemed possible to his forerunners. He became the greatest prince in the peninsula, and it is to the vast possibilities of union under his rule that his reign owes its chief fascination.

His policy generally proceeded on uniform lines : he would stir up a dispute between two States, would side with one party and arrange jointly to conquer the other, and he would then keep the spoils for himself and proceed to pick a quarrel with his ally. Yet, as Machiavelli says of Ferdinand of Aragon, though he always deceived everybody, he yet always found someone to deceive. He conducted his affairs on amicable lines as far as that was possible, and bore no ill will to those who withstood him. Thus, when the Marquis of Mantua saved his city by an ingenious forgery of Giangaleazzo's name, the Milanese prince took his defeat philosophically, and later employed the marquis as one of his captains. He never after the death of his father led his own armies. He seems to have grasped the modern idea that the head of a State does best as director and organizer. He was indeed the brain which thought out all, but he devolved the execution of his plans upon others. Thus he employed at various times all the great *condottieri* of Italy, including Gonzaga, Malatesta, Facino Cane, Jacopo dal Verme, and Alberico da Barbiano. He was well served and apparently well liked by his captains. There is no instance of treachery towards him, and after his death his young son was saved by the exertions of the soldiers he had employed in his lifetime.

His first great acquisition was Verona. In 1386, after the marriage of Valentina and Louis of Orleans, Giangaleazzo entered into negotiations with Francesco Carrara Lord of Padua. The Carraresi were one of the many families in

Northern and Central Italy who were making themselves into princes. They had in the past fifty years rapidly extended their possessions, thanks largely to the friendship of Venice. Francesco had deserted the policy of his House and sided with the Hungarians when they attacked Venice in 1356. As a reward Hungary had given him Feltre, Belluno, and Cividale. These gains however scarcely compensate for the anger of Venice, betrayed, as she held, by a House which she had consistently befriended. Carrara, blind to the danger, went even further, and in the great war of Chioggia between Venice and Genoa, which raged in 1373, he took sides with Genoa. With his assistance Chioggia was actually captured and made over to him. His triumph was short, for while Carrara went to besiege Treviso, Venice retook Chioggia. Later Francesco bought Feltre, Valsugana, and Treviso from Leopold of Austria, and thereby came into conflict with the Scaligers of Verona, who coveted Feltre and Belluno. Venice, unforgiving of all the injuries Carrara had done her, instigated Antonio della Scala to attack Padua and supplied him with funds. Giangaleazzo, who through his wife's mother, Regina della Scala, claimed the succession to Verona, saw in this war his opportunity. Scala had helped Carlo di Bernabò and was actually engaged in negotiating with Carlo at the Bavarian Court. Giangaleazzo now offered to help Carrara in an attack on Verona, on condition that the spoils should be divided; Giangaleazzo was to receive Verona itself and provide the greater number of troops, and Carrara was to receive Vicenza. The Lord of Padua apparently saw no danger in such a plan, and all preparations were made. In 1387 the Veronese were invaded by Giangaleazzo's troops, who won a crushing victory at Castagnaro and then advanced on Verona itself. The gates of the city were opened to his commander, Bevilacqua, by treachery. Antonio della Scala in vain rode through the streets calling upon the people; they would not fight for him, and he was obliged

to turn his horse and fly. Verona was lost without a blow being struck. The Scaligers are not perhaps very deserving of sympathy, for they were one of the most bloodstained families even of that epoch. Within seven generations there had been no less than nine murders of members of the family by other members : brother had killed brother, and uncle had tried to kill nephew. The citizens were not loyal to them, as we find other cities sometimes were to their lords, and hence the easy triumph of the Milanese prince.

On hearing the news Vicenza at once sent and surrendered herself to Giangaleazzo. Carrara, who had really taken no part in the swift affair, claimed his share. Having got Vicenza actually in his hands however, Giangaleazzo saw no reason why he should give it up ; he replied that Vicenza was part of his wife's inheritance. When Padua threatened trouble, he at once negotiated with Venice and decided upon the destruction of Carrara. Venice, still mindful of her injuries, and bribed by the offer of the restoration of Treviso, agreed to his plans. The Lords of Mantua and Ferrara very shortsightedly also agreed to aid him. Francesco Carrara was much hated by his subjects. He felt that the episode of Antonio della Scala would be repeated in Padua, and abdicated in favour of his son Francesco Novello—in vain however, for when the Milanese and Venetian army appeared before the city it was clear that no resistance would be made. The discontent and treachery within the walls made it impossible to defend the city, and Treviso, where old Francesco had sought refuge, was also surrounded by the Milanese. Francesco, fearing Venice most, surrendered to the Visconti, and at the same time Novello also gave himself up.

The Milanese troops were " acclaimed with joy " by the populace of Padua, and their former lords were both imprisoned. Francesco Novello after an interval of a year escaped and fled across the Mont Cenis Pass to Avignon, but his father died at Monza within a few months. Gianga-

leazzo had his body embalmed, and sent it with great honour to Padua. An attempt was made to come to terms with Francesco Novello, the Visconti offering to marry his illegitimate son Gabriele to Novello's daughter, and to give them Verona and Vicenza, while one of Bernabò's grand-daughters was suggested as a bride for Novello himself. The offer was refused, on the advice of Venice, who was herself later to destroy the Carraras.

Antonio della Scala having made one vain attempt to poison Giangaleazzo, also died, being the last of his race. Two principalities and three towns—Verona, Padua, and Vicenza—had thus been annexed to Milan, and the Visconti boundaries now stretched to the Adriatic. The cost of the wars is given as 250,000 florins, equal to about 20,000,000 lire in modern money.

The year 1388 was indeed a fortunate one for Giangaleazzo. After the fall of Vicenza he had begun his patronage of the great Duomo of Milan, which was to be dedicated to the Virgin. He made a vow, so Corio says, that if his prayers for an heir were granted, any son or sons born to him should also be dedicated to the Virgin. In September of 1388 Caterina gave birth to the greatly desired boy, who was christened Giovanni Maria. The city swore fealty to him, and his father triumphantly went on to the conquest of Padua, and her sub-Alpine cities of Feltre, Belluno, Bassano. Treviso was handed over to Venice in return for the help she had given.

Now at last the neighbouring States seem to have realized with what a prince they had to deal. The fall of Verona and Padua had come as a fearful shock. It was clear that the timid *dévôte* who had lived so quietly at Pavia while the turbulent Bernabò kept Milan in an uproar had become someone very different. The marked change is perhaps paralleled by that of a contemporary, Richard II, who when once he had thrown off his uncle's yoke had developed into a full-blown autocrat and believer in "Divine right."

The power which had most to fear was Florence. The Republic lay in the path which it was clear Giangaleazzo would follow to the south. Already Lord of Lombardy and having expanded to the east, it was inevitable that his next attempt would be in Tuscany and Romagna. The Florentines in their councils declared, "He has always a hidden intention—and has destroyed the Lord of Verona and him of Padua by these arts, doing one thing and pretending to do another—all his thoughts and actions are directed towards obtaining the lordship over Florence." Giangaleazzo, for his part, accused Florence of plotting his assassination while hunting, and wrote saying "that nothing was dearer to him than the peace of Italy, and that he desired a universal league against the foreigners, but that in view of the plots to murder him he must expel all Florentines and Bolognese from his State." Bologna at this moment wished to send an embassy to the French Court, and Giangaleazzo, in accordance with his edict, seized the ambassadors as they passed through the Milanese. Florence at once sent a strong protest against this, but Giangaleazzo retorted that the Florentine ambassador, Ricci, had himself in a speech quoted, "It is expedient that one man should die for the people," with application to Giangaleazzo.

Besides, Florence the great city of Bologna was threatened. Bernabò had failed to restore it to the Visconti, but his nephew could not overlook the fact that it had been part of the possessions of his House. Accordingly, Tuscany became the centre of opposition to Visconti, and in 1389 the two great cities drew together, and the League of Florence and Bologna was formed, which was destined to carry on the struggle for twelve years. In the contest modern sympathies have usually been with Florence, as representing the freedom of a republic against the tyranny of a despot. Yet the justice of this view may be questioned. Technically, perhaps, Giangaleazzo was a "tyrant"; in reality his dominions were better governed than the rest of

Italy. His subjects enjoyed far more peace and prosperity than those of Florence, for the republic could not govern herself. The faction fights which marred the lives of her citizens only ceased with the establishment of strong personal government. In the end it was the intolerable conditions of republican rule which led to the "benevolent despotism" of the Medici, and the rule of the Visconti was in no respect inferior to that of the banker lords.

The war begun in 1389 was desultory in character, and complicated by the efforts of Florence to enlist foreign aid. She had at once taken into her employ Acuto to lead her armies, and she also welcomed Carlo Visconti and Francesco Novello, who at this juncture succeeded, after thrilling adventures, in making his way in disguise from Avignon to Genoa and thence to Pisa, and so on to Florence. He soon set out to seek help across the Alps, where Stephen of Bavaria might be persuaded to join in the attack on the Visconti. Giangaleazzo induced Florence, in the interval before news came from Bavaria, to conclude a treaty with him, but the hollowness of the measure was known to both parties, and Florence was only gaining time before taking hostile action. Bologna for her part prepared to meet attack. Fearing that her discontented nobles might give up the city, she decided to try and forestall treachery. All letters entering and leaving the city were opened, and thus a plot was brought to light. A young man, Isolani, who was extremely popular, had conspired with Galuzzi, a cousin of the Marquis of Mantua, to open the gates to the troops of Milan. The conspirators were seized, the two leaders executed; another, Saliceti, "a man of letters and the glory of the university, was set free from punishment but not from blame and shame."

An appeal for help was sent to France. There the influence of Isabella secured an offer of assistance provided Florence and Bologna would acknowledge the Antipope Clement VII. Both indignantly refused, and prepared to

fight without French help, saying that "this serpent had shown his wicked intention of setting up a tyranny, and they were ready to fight against him." Bologna called all her men to arms, and Alberico da Barbiano took command. When heralds arrived from Giangaleazzo declaring war, Bologna replied that if the Milanese troops set foot in Bolognan territory they would be beaten off simply by the peasants. In accordance with mediaeval politeness the messengers who were to take back this defiance to their master were dismissed with handsome presents of gold brocade. The Milanese army was already moving, and shortly appeared before Bologna, which was now besieged. Acuto hurried to its relief. Reinforcements were dispatched from Milan, and a great effort was to be made, when bad news again compelled dal Verme to withdraw. Francesco Novello had returned to Padua; the people had this time risen on his behalf; the city had returned to its old allegiance, and only the Castello was held for Giangaleazzo (June, 1390). It was feared that Verona likewise would revolt, and plots were indeed rife. Severe measures however secured that city, which was held firm in its allegiance to its lord. Now Stephen of Bavaria crossed the Alps, while Ferrara joined the League. Acuto crossed the Po, and the Milanese army fell back to the Adige. Carlo Visconti, however, proved a bad asset to the League. His cruelty and incompetence had made him universally hated. "If Messer Carlo goes with Acuto the people of Milan will keep steadfast to the Count of Virtù," ran a Florentine dispatch, and this indeed was true. Things looked black for Giangaleazzo, but actually he had not much to fear. Novello, having got possession of Padua, did nothing more; Stephen proved totally incapable and soon withdrew; a prolonged attack by the armies of the League on Verona made no headway. The mother of young Francesco Scala, an enterprising lady named Samaritana, rode with them, dressed as a knight, but Verona was unmoved. Hawkwood

left her with the besiegers and himself crossed the Adige. He was expecting to meet the French expedition under John of Armagnac, which in defiance of Charles VI had now set out. Giangaleazzo was obliged to send every available man to meet this invasion, and Acuto reached the Adda ; but Armagnac was late, and Giangaleazzo had time to dispatch a force to cope with the most pressing danger. An army of 26,000 was sent against Acuto, who was compelled to retreat. Only his skill and the slowness of the Milanese commanders saved him from disaster, but he succeeded in withdrawing once more across the Adige. Armagnac in his turn was not strong enough to face the Visconti alone, and was defeated and killed at Alessandria ; Milan held festival for three days to celebrate the victory. Carlo Visconti, seeing the failure of his allies, gave in and accepted a pension of 1,000 crowns a month. The war was carried into the enemy's country and an attack made on Florence. It was beaten off by Acuto, but Pisa aided the Visconti. Eventually, in 1392, the combatants came to terms, and the peace of Genoa brought a brief cessation of hostilities. Each party was to keep its gains, and Francesco Novello was to remain Lord of Padua. There is a suggestion that he paid tribute to the Visconti, but this is not certain.

The Alpine cities Feltre, Belluno, and Bassano still remained in Giangaleazzo's hands. Milan indeed tried to win over Padua to an alliance. Giangaleazzo proposed a marriage treaty, and actually remitted the balance of the indemnity owing. Novello however had learnt from adversity and from his father's fate. He clung to Venice and refused all the Visconti offers. Bernabò's sons got very little from the promised intervention of their father's allies. Of the two elder Rudolfo had died in prison, and Ludovico still remained in captivity. Florence was heartily tired of Carlo, and as for the youngest, Mastino, he now, acting on Florentine advice, accepted the pension of 3,000 florins a month offered him by Giangaleazzo. Carlo, who

had proved so unsuccessful as a warrior in the struggle against his cousin, fell back on attempts at assassination. In 1388 Giangaleazzo had, it was said, tried to poison Carlo, through a doctor, Gioso, and Carlo had retaliated in kind. In 1393 he made another attempt on Giangaleazzo's life, which also failed, and the only result was that his pension was stopped.

The peace was of very short duration. Florence dared not leave her enemy alone, and formed a new League, joined this time, in addition to Bologna, by Ferrara, Padua, Faenza, Imola, and Mantua. Two events encouraged Giangaleazzo to face this fresh combination. A second son, christened Filippo Maria, came to make the succession seem quite safe. Pisa also entered into friendly relations with him, through the influence of the Appiani, who received a handsome payment for their services.

The new war centred round Mantua and assumed almost the character of a naval one. The League built a fleet of galleys to operate on the Po, and a great bridge was built at Borgoforte to prevent the Visconti fleet from advancing against the city. Giangaleazzo retaliated by trying to divert the waters of the Mincio, from Mantua, but a heavy downfall of rain swept away his dyke just when it was nearing completion. In 1394 he sought to win French support and prevent further trouble from that source by agreeing to the French acquisition of Genoa. The struggle dragged on in a tame fashion, open hostilities having practically ceased. In the next year the grant of the Duchy by Wenceslas roused the League to greater activities. Florence attacked Pisa, but Giangaleazzo threw troops into the city in time. Francesco Gonzaga now discovered the misbehaviour of his wife Agnese di Bernabò Visconti. She was executed, and Gonzaga himself warmly supported the League. Giangaleazzo collected all his troops for a grand attack upon Mantua. He dispatched one army to hold Florence in check and prevent her sending help to Gonzaga.

A fleet of forty galleys was sent up the Po, under the command of dal Verme. The latter sent down fire-ships, built of a sufficient size to ensure their blocking the arches, and the bridge was totally destroyed. The Milanese fleet sailed up and defeated the Mantuans, whose entire flotilla of forty vessels was defeated and sunk. The triumph of the Milanese seemed about to be completed by the capture of Mantua itself. The Marquis fell back on fraud : he sent a forged order, purporting to come from Giangaleazzo, ordering dal Verme to withdraw. Dal Verme was deceived and retreated, and the fruits of his victory were lost.

The League in its turn resolved on a desperate effort. A great conference was held at Bologna, where the allies agreed on the need for mutual aid. Each of the contracting States provided fresh sums of money for the hiring of more troops, with the exception of Padua, where Novello provided his own men. The army of the League marched to Governolo, and a new fleet was built and dispatched to the same place up the Po. Dal Verme had built a bridge across that river, and in order to preserve his communications he began to withdraw by it. The allies however seized another bridge across the Mincio and took Jacopo by surprise in the act of retreating. The Milanese army was thrown into utter confusion and put to flight ; 6,000 prisoners were taken and the whole of the Milanese camp and stores.

At great cost Giangaleazzo got together a fresh army, placed under Facino Cane, and sent it to Brescia, with orders to join dal Verme ; though in order to keep these expenses he had to double the *gabelle*. One more blow fell on Giangaleazzo : he had released from prison Guido da Coreggio, who had been taken in the capture of Verona, and who was now given his liberty on condition that he should serve Giangaleazzo faithfully. Guido accepted the commission and was placed at the head of the troops operating round Pisa. He proved a traitor and went over

to Florence and was sent by the republic to ravage the lands round Reggio.

Undismayed at his reverses, Giangaleazzo confirmed dal Verme in command and made him *Luogotenente generale*. On October 28, 1397, dal Verme once more attacked the famous position at Borgoforte, both by water and land. The Mantuan fleet, composed of thirty-six galleons together with five Venetian galleys, lay there. Giangaleazzo's men triumphed, and Mantua lost twenty-four of her galleons and two of the galleys. The whole "seraglio" of Mantua was sacked, and dal Verme cut the dykes and flooded the countryside. The allies hurriedly met in Ferrara and decided to build yet another fleet, but winter coming made it necessary to delay. With the spring the terrible plague made its appearance. On all sides a desire for peace grew. At length, in May, 1398, negotiations, set on foot by Venice, resulted in a truce for ten years being arranged. The bridge of Borgoforte was to be destroyed, and Mantua was to make a yearly payment to Giangaleazzo. Venice undertook, as one of the allies, to contribute one-fifth of the expenses incurred by the League during the war.

During the next two years the growing strength of the Visconti became manifest. The prolonged contest against a League composed of the chief Italian powers showed that even unaided Milan was fully their match. The isolated towns which still retained their freedom saw that this powerful State could give them security and perhaps better rule than their own factions allowed. Accordingly, a period marked by peaceful acquisition set in. First came Tuscany. In Pisa old Appiani had been succeeded by his son Gerardo. Old Jacopo had always maintained the independence of the city, but Gerardo was not strong enough to do so, and he gave the city over to Giangaleazzo, who at once earned popularity by hurrying in great supplies of corn to meet the wants of his new subjects. At the same time Siena, possibly stimulated by the reports from Pisa, also gave

herself to the duke. In the next year (1400) Perugia followed this example, on condition that her own laws and customs should be retained, and also in Romagna he acquired Spoleto and Nocera. Even Assisi was by judicious bribery induced to come into the Visconti State, which thus interpenetrated Tuscany. Lucca, too, was now given over to the rule of one of his adherents, and by seizing the castles of the Malaspina he acquired an important part of the Lunigiano.

His only failure was Genoa. Since 1394 he had intrigued for its possession, aiding the exiles and trying to bribe the Doge. He even offered to win the city on behalf of Charles VI, doubtless intending once won to keep it for himself. Finally he offered to buy the city, but either the Doge was too hostile to Milan or the sum offered was insufficient, and he had the annoyance of seeing the city occupied by the French, who held it until expelled by the citizens in 1409.

These times were marked by the appearance of the "Bianchi," bands of religious enthusiasts who went in procession from place to place dressed in white, with their faces covered, praying, chanting the *Stabat Mater*, and rousing a great revival of that sort of enthusiasm which had marked the Crusades. They accomplished nothing definite, and with fresh outbreaks of the plague even their enthusiasm died away.

Florence had seen with the greatest alarm the marked advance of Giangaleazzo. Bernabò's relations in France and Bavaria had proved feeble allies. French help, personified in John of Armagnac, had met with disaster. Now a fresh ally for Florence was to be discerned in Rupert, or, as he is sometimes called, Robert of Bavaria, who had been elected Emperor in the place of the deposed Wenceslas. He readily entered into a pact with Florence and Venice, and prepared for an expedition into Italy (1399). Some further encouragement Florence received from events in

Italy: the Bentivogli of Bologna had promised to give up that city to Giangaleazzo, but by bribery were induced instead to admit a contingent of Florentine troops under Sforza. In Brescia the Guelfs plotted with the new League, and prepared to throw in their lot with Florence in the coming outbreak. In 1401 Rupert actually crossed the Alps and marched towards Brescia, hoping to have the gates opened to him by his friends within. Giangaleazzo was too quick for him. A strong force had been dispatched from Milan and thrown into the town which was held successfully for the duke. Facino Cane easily beat off Rupert's attacks, and succeeded in capturing the Duke of Austria. The Emperor's army melted away and he himself was compelled to depart for Padua, where, with the remnant of his troops, he found a refuge. Soon even that comfort was lost, for Giangaleazzo prepared to attack Padua, and as a preliminary diverted the waters of the Bachiglione. Having failed utterly in his enterprise and merely demonstrated his own futility and incompetence, Rupert left Italy and returned across the mountains. Giangaleazzo followed up his success: he attacked Bologna, where, after a fierce struggle beneath the walls, his troops under Facino Cane and Gonzaga won a complete victory. Bologna surrendered, and the great city, so long lost to the Visconti, was once more theirs.

Now the moment seemed come for a final triumph. The only power which stood between Milan and the lordship of all Northern Italy was Florence. The smaller States, such as Ferrara and Padua, could clearly offer no resistance if the great republic were beaten down. Venice was as yet scarcely more than a mercantile city engaged in trade, and with no great interest in mainland politics. The small lords of the Romagna were in his pay, together with the powerful Malatesta. Through his occupation of Pisa and Lucca he was cutting Florence off from the sea. Bologna had given him a share of the control of the eastern passes ;

his troops held Perugia, Assisi, Siena, Spoleto. Florence was surrounded. Her foreign allies had failed her, and she had only her own resources behind her. Alberico da Barbiano was sent with a large army of 12,000 cavalry and 18,000 infantry to blockade her. The Albizzi family organized her defence, but it seemed certain that she must fall. She sent despairing messages to Naples and the Pope, begging for help, and saying that she was so hard pressed that unless aid were given she must give in. Giangaleazzo saw victory near. Owing to the presence of the plague at Milan he had withdrawn to his beautiful castle of Melegnano, on the Lambro. There, Corio tells us, he prepared the regalia with which to be crowned King of Lombardy. Suddenly, on August 10th, an attack of fever seized him. He struggled against the illness, but the medicine of those days was elementary. That he suffered from fever and not from the plague is now held to be certain. Indeed, the castle had been kept in the strictest quarantine, and no other person died or showed signs of plague. The fact that the duke alone was ill gave rise to suspicions of Florentine poison. His chief doctor was Marsilio da Santa Sofia, and Gusberto di Maltraversi, the astrologer, also attended him. At first the doctors thought little of his illness, but he grew weaker and no remedies brought any improvement. A contemporary poet, Pietro dei Civuzzi da Siena describes how he had gone to Melegnano :

And remained there sixteen days,
With great benefit to his person.
With games and jaunts he dwelt there
And received the ambassadors from Bologna.
On Sunday, 13th of August,
In an accursed hour, at the twentieth hour of the day,
The prince stood in a place well sheltered,
Closed in and surrounded for fear of the wind.
There suddenly a fit of fever took him
Which caused him to send for his doctors and astrologers.

The poem goes on to relate how his illness was not con-

sidered serious, but after ten days he still "lay upon his bed in the castle, with beautiful woods and mountains and streams around." He grew worse and "bade them send him a friar, a man of sanctity and virtue." He confessed and made his will. His wife and sons and close friends were with him, and on the evening of September 3, 1402, a Sunday, "at the sixteenth hour, the duke felt death near." The official letters written by the family announcing his death all state that it was due to fever. His will was read, by which his possessions were disposed of and directions given as to his body. Giangaleazzo wished to be buried in the Certosa, but as that building was not ready the body was deposited at Viboldone. A great memorial service, as we should call it, was held at Milan, where a long procession went to the Duomo and a splendid catafalque was erected. The temporary tomb at Viboldone was later injured in a raid of the Colleoni of Bergamo. It was then decided to remove the duke's body, which was sent to San Pietro at Pavia, where his father, Galeazzo, already rested. At last, after sixty-two years, it was placed behind the high altar in the Certosa now ready to receive it, by the orders of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the great-grandson of the duke. In 1510 the body of Isabella, Giangaleazzo's first wife, was also placed there, in accordance with the wishes of the King of France. When de Commynes visited Pavia in 1494 he wrote an account of his visit to the tomb. He considered Giangaleazzo *fu ung grant et mauvais tyran, mais honorable*. One of the Frati standing near said that Giangaleazzo was a saint. De Commynes objected to this, and pointed out that all around were frescoes depicting the violent seizure of various towns by the duke. The Frati replied simply, "Here we call all those saints who have done us good, and he built this beautiful church for us." De Commynes allowed this to pass, and proceeded to inspect the actual bones in the coffin, which he remarks had the odour which it was to be expected nature would give them. De Commynes

had an irreverent mind, and having satisfied his curiosity he gave no further thought to the great duke.

Giangaleazzo's death was a misfortune for Milan, and in view of future history it seems certain that it was a misfortune for Italy. Florence, of course, hailed her deliverance from danger with joy, and so strong is the spell of Florence that her escape has been allowed to weigh down the balance against the Visconti. Yet certain considerations stand out clearly. Florence could not rule herself or others. The smaller States preferred the Visconti rule, which was incomparably more generous in local self-government. Pisa, which had accepted Giangaleazzo with apparent satisfaction, fought bitterly and unceasingly against the domination of Florence. The republic never succeeded in building up a wide State as the Visconti had done, and she was speedily to lose even her own nominal republican freedom. Even more disastrous than her misgovernment was her foreign policy. Giangaleazzo, as we have seen, was consciously the guardian of Italy against the foreigner. He saw the danger of bringing French and Germans across the Alps, and he was strong enough to withstand their attacks; but Florence persisted in the policy of introducing the foreigner. She was anti-national, calling in the armies of the French lords, the Bavarians, and the imperial "barbarians." In herself she was the obstacle to the union of North and Central Italy under one strong administration. Had the kingdom of which Giangaleazzo dreamed, and for which he strove, become an actuality, it would have been strong enough to beat back the French invasions of the next century. He himself had easily beaten the three foreign expeditions of his reign, and Filippo Maria, amongst all his troubles, was to give the Swiss their one severe lesson. "A nation may pay too dearly for a little more art and a little more literature," writes Mr. Armstrong, "and after all it is doubtful if Florentine independence had much to do with either. Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, all wrote, not in an atmosphere

of republicanism, but in the Courts of princes. Mantegna was by birth Titian, by adoption a Court painter; Leonardo's art is Milanese; while Michelangelo worked mainly for the most despotic of Popes."

Giangaleazzo had been a great patron of learning. Under him the University of Pavia had no less than 140 professors, including such great men as Chrysoloras and P. da Candio. The Academy of Architecture and Painting was founded and the great Library was begun in the Castello of Pavia. The University of Piacenza was restored, with seventy-one professors. His merits as a patron of art and one of the greatest builders of an age given to building must be discussed later; it is sufficient to say here that even his enemies have always recognized the splendour of the gift he made to Italy in the founding of the Certosa.

The Visconti, when all is said, were no more tyrants than the Tudors. Had their aims been achieved they might have built up a Kingdom of Italy which would have given to that country a future resembling that of England, rather than the miserable centuries of division and invasion which, alike in Italy and Germany, gave no peace or happiness until union was finally achieved.

There remains the question as to whether such union was really possible under the Visconti. Great difficulties there must always have been. Local feelings of independence were very strong, and local factions even stronger. But the Visconti were well suited for absorbing the smaller communes, having liberal ideas and showing themselves ready to allow local self-government. The greater powers of the next century had not in the Visconti period shown their strength. Venice, indeed, was not in their day a military power, and it may be doubted whether she would have become one had they survived. Her great expansion was made in the bad days which fell upon the Visconti after Giangaleazzo's untimely death. Had he lived she could not have made it. Florence would certainly have been

beaten down. The divided Papacy showed no signs of the revival of her temporary power, which the next generation was to see, and had a powerful kingdom existed in Central Italy such a revival would have been even more difficult of accomplishment than it proved. The Visconti good fortune failed when Giangaleazzo died. Another ten years, which he might well have looked for, being but fifty years old, would have made all the difference ; he would have been able to consolidate his acquisitions and strengthen his State ; he would not have left Milan to the unavoidable evils of a Regency. He is said to have been conscious of the inferiority of his elder to his second son, and he might have prevented the disastrous effects which followed on the accession of the first of the race who was both absolutely incapable and incurably vicious.

Giangaleazzo himself was a diplomatist and a ruler of the first quality. His contemporaries and posterity alike have done him justice in this respect. He was an excellent administrator of the modern type, entrusting much to his subordinates, whom he selected with care, and himself acting as supervisor and director. He was not cruel, and in many respects he was generous and large-minded. He did not bear malice and took rebuffs with calm, as has been seen in the friendly relations he maintained with the Marquis of Mantua. After Bernabò's fall he took charge of the unmarried daughters, who continued to live at Milan and who formed part of his household. He arranged marriages for them and dowered them all splendidly. Only Lucia, through various misfortunes, although often betrothed, found no other home than Milan during his lifetime. The faults which have been urged against him are those of guile and unscrupulousness. He certainly was not to be trusted, and never less so than when he seemed most friendly. His superior wiliness enabled him to overreach his opponents, but in his defence it may be urged that he was but using the same weapons that others employed against him. It

was an age when cunning was in no way considered beneath the dignity of a prince. Machiavelli was no innovator when he wrote his famous book ; he was only summing up the opinions of all the wise men of the day. No one in Italy blamed Giangaleazzo for deceiving those whom he wished to overcome, and, judged by the standard of his day, he will bear comparison with his contemporaries.

His personal characteristics are hard to come by. He was a man of splendid appearance and physique, and yet he does not seem to have led a very active or strenuous life. After his early youth he took no part in actual warfare, but lived quietly in his home at Pavia. One of his most strongly marked features was his religious devotion, which seems to have been quite genuine. He was always a good son of the Church, keeping her observances, a generous patron of the clergy, and a magnificent donor. He encouraged, even if he did not actually found, the great Duomo of Milan, which until the building of St. Peter's was reckoned the largest cathedral in Europe. He built and endowed the famous Certosa at Pavia, which remains his best monument. Many other churches and monasteries benefited by his charity, and the clergy were always his supporters. Of his family life we know very little. He was fond of his mother, Bianca of Savoy, who certainly aided him in his effort to free himself from Bernabò, and who remained at his Court until her death, helping to educate his daughter and sharing many of his tastes, as the gifts made by him to her of books and manuscripts show. He repaid her devotion generously, making her grants of land and castles. With his wife he was apparently on equally affectionate terms, despite the fact that Bernabò had intended by the marriage to set Caterina to spy upon her husband. She must have preferred her husband to her father, for after Bernabò's fall and death she showed no sign of resentment, but stepped quietly into the position of head of the new household. She helped her husband to arrange marriages

for her sisters, and Giangaleazzo testified to his confidence in her by leaving her as Regent and guardian of his two young sons. Most of their lives was passed in the palace at Pavia, with its decorated halls and beautiful park and gardens. Occasionally the Court would move to the Castello of Porta Giova at Milan, Filippo Maria being born there in 1392. The heir who had been so much longed for was a disappointment to his father; he early showed his evil disposition and complete lack of ability. Some have traced the feebleness and degeneration of Giangaleazzo's sons to the fact that they sprang from a marriage which was one of near relations, Caterina and Giangaleazzo being first cousins, and which brought the wild, almost insane, strain of Bernabò's blood to mix with that of his brother Galeazzo. In any case, Giangaleazzo's one illegitimate son, Gabriele, was a better man than the two sons of Caterina. He was the best loved by his father too, partly on account of his mother, Agnese Mantegazzo, for whom Giangaleazzo had a strong and abiding affection. Corio, in dismissing this greatest of the Visconti, says, "He was most prudent and astute, of a solitary disposition . . . splendid and prodigal, sparing not his own purse nor that of his subjects, ambitious and fortunate in his undertakings above all the princes of Italy." With him in truth the hopes of the Visconti, and through them of Italy, were destined to pass away.

CHAPTER IX

GIOVANNI MARIA

Position on death of Giangaleazzo—Caterina Regent—Enmity of Carrara and Venice—Cessions to Pope—Flight of Barbarava—Outbreak of revolt—Caterina expelled from Milan—Character of Giovanni Maria—Facino Cane and the Duke—Murder of Giovanni Maria.

GIANGALEAZZO had made four different dispositions of his territories at different periods of his life—in 1388, 1397, 1401, and 1402. The chief instrument was that of 1401, to which a codicil was attached in 1402, after Bologna had been acquired. The will of 1401 was made by the notary Oliario of Pavia. In 1452 Francesco Sforza got it from Oliario's son Andrea, and probably destroyed it, in order to obliterate the clause in favour of Valentina. In 1496 Ludovico II Moro was warned by Jason del Magno that a copy had been found in the papers of Domenico Oliario, and advised him to get hold of it and destroy it, together with any other existing copies ; and thus it is difficult to determine precisely what the contents were, but del Magno states that in the event of the deaths of Giovanni Maria and Filippo Maria without male heirs Milan was to go to the son of Valentina.

As regards his sons and the immediate disposal of his lands, his wishes were carried out. Giovanni Maria, now aged fourteen, was to be Duke of Milan and to have the bulk of the territory, including Bologna. Filippo Maria, now aged ten, was to be Lord of Pavia and the cities round it, which ranked as a separate " county," but he was to hold them as a fief of Milan. Gabriele was to have Pisa and Cremona, and likewise hold them as fiefs of the Duchy. Caterina received a large sum of money and was to be Regent. It is practically certain that as regards the future

succession Giangaleazzo laid down that failing heirs to his two legitimate sons Milan should pass to the heirs of his daughter Valentina. Such a provision was likely in view of the fact that he would wish the Duchy to remain in his family, that he would naturally expect his sons to leave heirs, and that he could not have foreseen that Valentina's descendants were, by the failure of the older branch of the French royal family three generations later, to become Kings of France.

These problems were far distant; at the moment the Regent had to deal with the dangers that immediately surrounded her and her sons. It was clear that peace must be sought with Florence, who on the news of the death of her great enemy had at once turned to make a league with the Pope. Danger also threatened from Carrara of Padua, who wrote to Florence, saying, "The viper is dead, but the little vipers remain and must be extirpated." Caterina made it her first business to try and detach Padua from the republic. Negotiations were set on foot, and resulted in a treaty. All injuries between the two States were to be forgiven; each was to retain its own position as regards the vexed question of the rival Emperors; the tribute paid by Carrara was reduced from 7,000 to 3,000 crowns. No mention was made of any cession of territory. This treaty gave Caterina a breathing space; but the further troubles which soon overtook her eventually caused Carrara to repudiate it on the ground that the duchess could not keep her territory, and "if these cities are to fall into other hands it is just that my sons should become lords." For though Giangaleazzo's captains, and notably Facino Cane, remained loyal to the Regent, they were unable for long to keep his State together. At first, indeed, matters went fairly well. The army was withdrawn from Florence, and peace was made with the Pope by the costly expedient of giving up to him Bologna, Perugia, and Assisi. Gabriele kept his hold on Pisa until, in 1405, he was induced by the breakdown at Milan to sell the city to Florence, who instantly

found herself involved in a desperate war with her new possession. The attempt of Alessandria to revolt and call in the French from Genoa to help them was defeated by Facino Cane. An attack by Carrara on Brescia was also driven off with great success. The situation was however extremely dangerous, and the real trouble came from within. After a period of nearly two years revolt began, not amongst the people, but amongst the nobles, and it may be in part traced to the policy of the Regent herself. Caterina was largely guided by Giangaleazzo's Secretary of State, Francesco Barbarava, who was of Guelfic sympathies, and showed them. For years the Visconti rule had rested on the peace from faction which it maintained. Strict impartiality as between Guelf and Ghibelline had been the guiding principle; the two had been sternly prevented from warring together—even the use of the terms had been forbidden—and the honours of the State had been equally divided between them. The great Ghibelline nobles now resented the influence of the secretary; they began to plot with other members of the Visconti family—Antonio and Francesco, who were descended from the original founder, Matteo. Disturbances began to break out in 1403, when Giovanni da Casale was murdered. An attempt was made by the Court to bring about a reconciliation with the nobles but failed. Barbarava fled, and the administration fell into chaos. The tumult spread at once to the provinces, where Guelf and Ghibelline began to fall upon each other. The various cities were seized by their various local lords: Parma by the Rosci, Piacenza by the Scotti, Cremona by the Cavalcanti, Crema by the Benzoni, all Guelfic families; while Como and Lodi were seized by the Ghibelline lords, Rusca and Vignate.

Siena, which had hitherto remained loyal, now asserted her independence, while the Marquis of Montferrat quietly occupied Casale and Vercelli. Caterina and Gian Maria were besieged in the Castello, which was defended by Dal

Verme successfully. Two of the leaders of revolt, Porro and Aliprandi, were taken by him and executed.

This was the actual moment chosen by Venice and Padua. Carrara began by calling in the survivors of the Scala to aid in his attack on Vicenza and Verona. He then threw aside his allies and occupied both towns for himself. In his expedition against Verona he was aided by Carlo di Bernabò, who lost his life in a skirmish. A year later Mastino, the sole surviving son of Bernabò, died at Bergamo.

The Duchess Caterina appealed to Venice and offered to cede Belluno, Bassano, and Feltre if she would help to restore Verona and Vicenza to Milan. Venice sent her armies against Carrara, destroyed him, and occupied all his cities, including the new acquisitions. Padua withstood the besieging army of Venice until reduced to the most terrible straits. The plague, added to the horrors of starvation, ravaged the unfortunate people. Francesco in vain tried to get terms; Venice would only accept unconditional surrender. Eventually the city gates were opened by treachery; Francesco, beaten back to the citadel, was forced to give in. He was sent with his two sons to Venice, there tried "for his crimes as a tyrant," condemned, and together with his sons put to death in prison. "Thus was extinguished the ancient house of Carrara, and Venice, great by sea, acquired also the lordship of the land" (Corio).

She made no pretence of restoring her conquests to the Visconti, but kept all for herself and began the foundation of her mainland power. She entered upon that new phase of her history, which led her to the bitter rivalries of the next century and culminated in the League of Cambray.

Machiavelli, in one of his celebrated passages, comments on the importance of her decision: "But the Venetians not having power on land were armed at sea, where they conducted their wars most successfully, and thus armed added to the power of their country. But the time coming when they wished to make war by land, in order to retain

Vicenza, when she ought to have employed one of her own citizens to lead her armies, she took as her captain the Marquis of Mantua." The acquisitions of Venice earned her the jealousy of Florence and added another powerful enemy to those who were desirous of checking her aggrandisement.

The success of the risings against the Visconti was due to the deep-rooted influence of the old families. Some have seen in it the triumph of the *condottieri*, but it will be seen that in every instance the petty despot represented an ancient influence. An attempt was even made to restore some at least of the older branch of the Visconti themselves. Two of Bernabò's illegitimate sons, Ettore and Lionello appeared, together with Giovanni Carlo, son of Carlo di Bernabò, and Mastino, Bernabò's youngest and only surviving son. The young duke was induced to buy them off; Mastino was given Bergamo, but died shortly after; Giovanni Carlo was given Brescia, which he never succeeded in occupying. Both cities were, in fact, seized by Pandolfo Malatesta, who added them to his principality of Rimini.

At this dark hour Giovanni Maria assumed responsibility for the government, and the misfortunes of Milan were thereby increased. He was of so bad and utterly worthless a character as to deserve little description. His cruelty and bloodthirstiness were unparalleled even in the Italy of those days. Men came to reckon him mad, and so indeed he must have been. Some of his grandfather Bernabò's worst traits appear in him exaggerated a thousand times. Bernabò had a passion for dogs, Giovanni Maria was a maniac over them. Corio's pages are full of the enormities he is said to have practised, though it must be borne in mind that these stories date from a later period, when the power of legend had been at work, and too much credence must not be given to them. When the savage young duke had long been dead stories were told how he kept, like Bernabò, a vast pack of hounds, but used them to hunt human beings, aided by his detested huntsman,

Squarcia Giramo. Men condemned for crime or persons known to be enemies of the duke were said to have been literally thrown to the dogs, who devoured them. It was told how people looking from their windows at night saw the duke and his pack pursuing some wretched man through the streets. Other stories also circulated. The duke fell out with his mother; parties ranged themselves on each side, and street fighting and massacres once more became a daily part of Milanese life. "No one," says Corio, "could have any security, save that he knew he would be impoverished; within and without all was confusion. Families warred one against the other—famine and plague emptied the city—Facino Cane hastened to destroy the Guelfs, Gabriele Visconti did all he could to oppose him." Gabriele indeed tried to head the party of the Court against the *condottieri*, but the duchess was too jealous to allow his influence to succeed.

A more severe riot than usual ended in the defeat of the duchess's partizans, and Caterina herself withdrew to Monza; nothing definite is known as to the occurrences there. Caterina was made a prisoner and died in October, 1404. Popular opinion held that the duke himself had ordered his mother's death. To clear himself of the suspicion he arrested Pusterla, warden of the fortress of Monza, who had been in charge of the duchess, and, accusing him of the crime, threw him to the dogs.

Control of the government rested to a certain extent in the hands of the greatest of the *condottieri*, Facino Cane. His fellow-generals had by now left Milanese service. Alberigo da Barbiano had enlisted under the Pope, Terzo had been expelled from Lombardy, Jacopo dal Verme had entered Venetian pay, and fell fighting for them against the Turks, Facino Cane remained, and was virtual Lord of Tortona, Alessandria, and Novara. He exercised some influence over the duke, and more over the populace. When Milan seemed utterly given over to disorder, and even the Abbot of St. Ambrogio had been dragged from his

belfry and hanged, Facino combined with the warlike Ghibelline gentry of the adjacent countryside. He brought up some of his "companies" to blockade the city, and the populace, fearing starvation, gave in and accepted a general reconciliation of feuds. Giovanni Maria saw with furious resentment the power of the great general. He sought help from outside. In Genoa were French troops and a French governor, Bouccicault. Giovanni Maria sent to the governor, bidding him come and rule Milan, and offering to accept the suzerainty of France. Bouccicault came, but in his absence Genoa at once revolted against her foreign lords (1409). The governor hurried back, but was met and defeated by Facino himself, and had to make his way home to France through Piedmont. Facino became Governor of Milan, and virtually its lord. His ambitions grew. He stirred up trouble in Pavia, where Filippo Maria was living peacefully, and through the old family of Beccaria he succeeded in making Filippo Maria a prisoner. It seemed as if with both Visconti in his power he was about to make himself lord in name as well as in reality, and anticipate Francesco Sforza in the establishment of a *condottiere* duke. At this very crisis of his fortunes, like his great master before him, he fell ill. He knew that he could not live, and withdrew to Pavia, where he could die in peace. His fatal malady was known in Milan. The Ghibelline lords in that city felt that once Facino was gone Giovanni Maria would be unrestrained. They had ample experience of his character, and they were aware that, in opposition to Facino, he professed Guelfic sympathies. He had recently come to terms with Carlo Malatesta, the head of the Guelfic party in the Romagna; Carlo had been brought to Milan, where the bells were ordered to be rung in his honour, and he was hailed as a "liberator." He drove Gabriele Visconti from the city; Gabriele retired to Genoa, and was executed there at the instance of the French within the year. The alliance with Malatesta was cemented by the marriage of Giovanni Maria with Antonia Malatesta,

niece of the *condottiere*. A body of conspirators—Pusterla, del Maino, Baggi, all with personal grievances and outrages to avenge—plotted together. On May 16, 1412, on the very day when Facino Cane died at Pavia, Giovanni Maria was stabbed to death in the Church of San Gottardo.

The very fact that he was so notorious disproves the assertion that he was the type of a Lombard despot; had he been so he would have passed unremarked. He was undoubtedly below both the mental and moral average, but the very excess of the cruelties with which he is charged point clearly to insanity. He cannot be judged as a normal being. The circumstances of his life were also against him. He was a child when his father died, and during the remaining ten years of his life he was surrounded by scenes of bloodshed and tumult for which he was not responsible. He was never an absolute ruler, but was under the control of men stronger than himself. One curious step was taken towards the close of his brief reign. The Commune of Milan had paid his father a yearly sum, which Giangaleazzo allotted as he chose, receiving 1,200,000 florins from the whole of the Milanese. Under Giovanni Maria the commune gave to the duke a fixed monthly sum of 2,500 florins for his personal expenses, and undertook to pay separately for the upkeep of a fixed body of cavalry, and another of infantry, and a sum of 1,500 florins for the expenses of administration and justice. The smaller revenue of Giovanni Maria was, of course, due to the shrunken condition of his territories. Giovanni Maria was twenty-four years old at his death, and died without leaving any children. When the news of his assassination became known the Court was thrown into a state of consternation, but the city remained quiet. Contrary to what might have been expected, there was no rising, and no manifestation that the populace felt any hatred towards the dynasty. Ettore, one of Bernabò's illegitimate sons, and Gian Carlo, son of Carlo di Bernabò, declared themselves Lords of Milan and prepared to defend themselves against Giovanni Maria's real heir.

CHAPTER X

FILIPPO MARIA

Character—Obtains possession of Milan—Marriage to Beatrice Tenda—Policy of recovering his father's possessions—Employment of *condottieri*—The mercenaries of Italy in the fifteenth century—Career of Carmagnola—His connexion with Filippo Maria—Milanese victories—Bergamo, Cremona, Parma, Piacenza, and Genoa recovered—Rise of Sforza—Flight of Carmagnola—War with Venice—Peace of Ferrara, 1428—Montferrat and Savoy—Second Venetian War—Trial and death of Carmagnola—Plight of Montferrat—Milanese victory over the Swiss—Second peace of Ferrara—The Medici and Milan—Alliance of Milan and Savoy—Third war with Venetian League—Naval victory of Ponza—Successes of Filippo Maria—Venice sends for Sforza—Battle of Anghiari—Marriage of Sforza and Bianca Maria—Attack on Cremona—Desperate plight of Milan—Death of the Duke—Claimants to the Duchy—The Ambrosian Republic—Estimate of Filippo Maria.

ON the assassination of Giovanni Maria the Duchy of Milan passed to his brother Filippo Maria, who was destined to be the last male Visconti. In many ways he is most interesting, for in him the gifts and characteristics which made his family great are seen mixed with the traits which mark their decadence.

In appearance he differed from his ancestors, and not for the better. He was black-haired, with a large mouth and a low forehead, soon furrowed by care and anxiety; he had a thick, fat neck, and became extremely stout. He was clean-shaven, though he found great difficulty in shaving himself. He was lacking in the splendid physical development which had marked the rest of the Visconti, and he showed neither aptitude nor taste for sport and outdoor exercise, though he loved animals and birds. He had none of the cruelty and fierceness shown by his brother and grandfather, Bernabò—that strain he had fortunately escaped; but he had, instead, been born with a terribly nervous temperament. He hated thunder and had a

special room constructed with double doors where he could take refuge from the storms which often swept down on the plains. A bad sleeper, he would change his bed three times a night, and always slept guarded by many attendants. He disliked music and dramatic entertainments, his chief relaxation being chess, which he played with skill. Astrology was one of his great interests, though the necessity for consulting the stars before taking any political action was probably one of his pretexts for gaining time in the difficult negotiations upon which he so often entered. He would never take part in great ceremonies if he could possibly avoid it, nor would he receive strangers, or show himself in public. His famous refusal to see the Emperor when Sigismund came to Milan for his coronation has given great prominence to this characteristic. Yet he could be a gracious and courteous host, as his reception of Alfonso of Aragon showed. Some have attributed his reluctance to take part in great spectacles to a morbid shrinking from his own ugliness and unwieldy appearance. He was a good master to those around him, his favourite attendant being the well-known "Scaramuzza." Cristiani, his secretary, and Gallina, his notary and political agent, served him long and faithfully, and in general he seems to have been regarded with affection by his subjects. He had good brains and used them to advantage, as the achievements of his reign show. The guile of Giangaleazzo had descended in full measure to him. His enemies inveigh against his cunning and deceitful diplomacy, but his was the age which gave Machiavelli the materials for "*Il Principe*," and Amedeus of Savoy was an even more thorough-going exponent of diplomatic deceits, without Filippo Maria's capacity for generous actions. His family relationships add one more to his puzzling characteristics, and do but serve to make it more difficult to know what kind of a man he really was. His first marriage, as will be seen, was simply one of policy. A young man of twenty was unlikely to feel any affection

for a woman of forty, and the tragic conclusion was not of a nature to reveal his true disposition. After the death of his first wife he apparently did not mean to marry again. He was devoted to Agnese del Maino, the mother of his only child, and to her he remained faithful. He never seems to have contemplated marrying her, although such a practice was not unusual, Bernabò, for instance, having certainly endeavoured to go through a form of matrimony with Donnina dei Porri. When pressure of circumstances forced Filippo into an alliance with Savoy, he nominally accepted Maria of Savoy as his wife, but she was never more than one in name ; and though her relations at various times tried to induce Filippo to receive her, they never succeeded. The question of the succession was often pressed upon him, but he never departed from the line he had marked out for himself. Agnese was the woman he loved, and apparently he preferred to leave no legitimate heir. When he was attacked by a disease which he knew must prove fatal he is reported to have said that he wished to leave the succession unsettled ; he did not care if all went to pieces once he was gone. Perhaps he felt that the glories of the race had departed, and that it was best that with him even the name should vanish. But indeed his motives remain a mystery ; we have only bare facts to go upon. These in themselves suffice to make his reign one of great interest and importance. The dramatic events of the next twenty years show not the decadence but the strength of the Visconti dynasty and the State they had founded.

When the news of the death of Giovanni Maria was brought to Filippo he must have felt that his inheritance was chiefly one of trouble. The great Duchy of Giangaleazzo had been torn to pieces ; Milan itself was a hotbed of faction strife, and his brother had left nothing but a bad reputation. One great consolation he had : Facino Cane had died on the same day of May, and thereby the danger which the great *condottiere* had threatened was removed.

Indeed, Facino's death was to give Filippo Maria his opportunity. Apart from the relief he felt on this score, however, matters looked very bad. Bernabò's heirs once more appeared, in the persons of his illegitimate son Ettore, who had made himself master of the fortress of Monza, and Giovanni the son of Carlo Visconti. A plot was formed in Milan, under the inspiration of a Dominican monk, Bartolomeo Caccia, and the two Visconti were welcomed into the city. Filippo Maria possessed a friend in the Archbishop of Milan, who at this crisis came to give him some advice. The Archbishop is credited with having suggested the step which Filippo now took. Facino Cane was dead, but his excellent army remained, together with the lordship he had established over several important towns. Filippo Maria married Facino's widow, Beatrice Tenda, who apparently agreed without misgiving to accept a husband twenty years younger than herself, and whose motive in such an alliance was clearly nothing but political ambition. The troops at once recognized him as their master, and he gained possession of the towns of Tortona, Novara, and Alessandria, which, together with Pavia, gave him a nucleus. He now set to work to recover Milan itself, which he accomplished with ease through his *condottiere* Carmagnola, whose first great achievement this was. Ettore was driven back to Monza with the greatest ease, for the citizens of Milan would not support him, and was there killed in a skirmish. Giovanni fled across the Alps to the Court of Sigismund. He was destined to meet a violent death in Paris, being killed there in 1418, and Filippo Maria entered Milan in triumph, being warmly welcomed by the citizens. With the fall of Monza in 1413 the rest of Bernabò's descendants—his illegitimate sons and daughters and the grandchildren who were living in different parts of Italy—decided to come to terms, and a general settlement was effected, Filippo Maria undertaking to pension his cousins. No further trouble occurred on this score. He took up his

abode in the great Castello of the Porta Giovia, whose red walls and towers rose above the city streets. There he set up his quiet Court, while he sought out his brother's murderers and avenged Giovanni Maria.

That once accomplished, Filippo addressed himself to the great work of his life—the recovery of Giangaleazzo's dominions. The task must have seemed almost hopeless, so great were the difficulties and so feeble his resources. The fact that to a great extent he succeeded shows what his capabilities must have been. Giangaleazzo's acquisitions were to a large measure regained. Success was due partly to good central government, partly to a skilful combination of diplomacy with military force. Filippo employed great men as his generals, but all his triumphs cannot be attributed to them. History shows that a weak, bad man does not command good and loyal service over a long period of years. The fact that Filippo was able to maintain his position, and that at the end of his reign even Sforza had not asserted supremacy over him, testifies to the strength which must have underlain his character.

By June, 1412, oaths of fealty had been sworn to him by Milan, represented in the persons of the Vicar of the Provisions and the Twelve; and by Alessandria, Tortona, Varese, Velate, Camago, Melzo, and Vimercato. Negotiations were begun with the Emperor Sigismund, who was won over to friendliness and entered upon a treaty with the Visconti. A truce was made with Montferrat and another with Malatesta, which left the Milanese troops free.

Carmagnola, who had been captain of a squadron under Facino Cane, was made captain-general, and speedily recovered Monza, Cantù, and later Trezzo. Lodi had been seized and held by the Vignate, who were now invited to come to Milan. They completely underestimated the new duke's audacity and accepted. On their arrival they were imprisoned and executed, and Lodi was once more under Visconti rule. The next step was the restoration of Como,

which was bought back at the cost of a great sum. Crema, seeing which way the tide was flowing, also returned to her old allegiance. Thus by 1418 the duke could feel that he had already achieved a good deal, and the Visconti fortunes were once more advancing. Filippo above all rejoiced in the possession of a type of mind well suited to the period. It was an age when diplomacy played a great part in Italy. The number of small States, the rise of certain greater ones, the growth of the temporal power of the Papacy and the possibility of foreign intervention, made Italy a sea of very troubled waters. To the man who could fish in them endless opportunities were presented. Patience, caution, the power of forming combinations and changing them as circumstances changed, of building up alliances and rejecting them once their purpose was served, these were the main weapons in the diplomatic armoury of the time. Filippo was well equipped in these respects, and he took advantage of the political situation ; for Italy was entering upon a new phase in her development, due to the changes in the centre and south. The schism in the Papacy had at last come to an end.

At the Council of Constance John XXIII, whose violent character and entire lack of any scruples had made him hated by all who came in contact with him, was deposed in May, 1415. Gregory XII was induced to abdicate in July of the same year, and the third claimant to the Papacy, Benedict XIII, was also deposed in 1417. A new Pope, Oddo Colonna, was elected, and took the name of Martin V. With him it was hoped that an era of reform would set in. Martin V was now universally recognized as the head of the Church. He was a personal friend of Filippo, who had sent delegates to the Council of Constance and assisted in the election of Martin. A new Emperor—and one who gave hopes of better things—Sigismund, had replaced the weak Rupert. In Naples Joanna II, daughter of Charles of Durazzo, was now Queen. Joanna was not calculated to

make a good ruler, and the preferences she showed, as well as the immorality of her life, created bitter feuds. Her husband, Jacques de Bourbon, was driven from Court in 1416, and Joanna, faced with many troubles, tried to enter into an alliance with Martin V. The Papal States were at that moment being attacked by Braccio, one of the foremost of the *condottiere*. The queen enlisted the services of Muzio Attendolo Sforza, Braccio's bitter enemy and rival, and dispatched him at the head of an army to fight for Naples and the Pope. Finding Joanna untrustworthy, Sforza now began to negotiate with Louis of Anjou, and it was clear that fresh trouble was to be expected in the south.

Encouraged by his successes and by the troubles of the other States Filippo now cast his eyes on Genoa, whose importance was enhanced in the eyes of the Visconti by the growth of her rival, Venice. Filippo had to face a very different Venice from that of his father's days. By her destruction of the Carrara and her land acquisitions Venice had ceased to be merely a sea power, and her boundaries now touched those of Milan. Conflict was almost certain to arise, for Milan herself was a great commercial power. Her wealth was largely derived from trade, and her prosperity depended on it. If Venice, with her command of most of the Alpine passes and her great naval and mercantile strength, were hostile, the Lombard capital would be in a precarious position. Were Genoa hers, the balance would be more equal. Hence Filippo's determination to acquire his own port and the means to check the supremacy of Venice at sea. A war with Genoa had been begun in 1417 but met with little success; and though it lingered on for some months, by 1418 the duke felt that he must withdraw, for a time at any rate. Accordingly, peace was made, in which Montferrat was included, the marquis yielding up Vigevano which he had hoped to retain.

Now came an event which, however much it horrifies modern ideas, seems to have been received with great calm

by fifteenth-century Italy. Beatrice Tenda, Filippo's elderly wife, was accused of unfaithfulness. Doubtless she had a dull, if not an actively unhappy, life. Unlike her husband she was fond of music, and she had been accustomed to passing her time in listening to the lute, as played by one of her pages, Michael Orombello. Her two maids of honour now gave evidence that Michael had been her lover. Beatrice, Michael, and the two maids of honour were all arrested and imprisoned at Binasco. The trial was conducted by the *podestà*, and, in accordance with the usage of the time, the prisoners were put to the torture. Both Beatrice and Michael confessed their guilt and were condemned to death. Beatrice then declared that her confession had been extorted from her only by torture, and that she was innocent. She reproached Michael, saying on the scaffold, "You, in the moment of being able to enter into eternal glory, prefer a miserable lie to the truth." Michael did not withdraw his confession, but both met the same fate, in September, 1415. The two witnesses, who were held to have connived at the dishonour of their mistress, were also executed, and the records of the process were destroyed. It may be noted that a similar destruction of records was made by Henry VIII, in the case of Anne Boleyn, under somewhat similar circumstances. Whether guilty or innocent, Beatrice's death produced no effect upon Filippo Maria's position. No manifestations took place on her behalf, and the troops which had formerly belonged to her first husband were now loyal to the duke. Nor did his fellow-rulers, or even the Pope himself, look askance. Filippo was indeed now to be honoured by a visit from Martin V, who in 1419 came to Pavia. He travelled in state, and was given a great welcome. The clergy and doctors of the university, clothed in purple robes, went in procession to meet him. A splendid *baldachinno* of gold and white was carried over him, and the duke's trumpeters went before him. The Pope was accompanied by twelve

cardinals, in their gorgeous robes, and his mule was led by Filippo's two chief *condottieri*, Carmagnolo and Torello. Filippo himself and his whole Court came out to meet him, and feasts and banquets showed the revival of Visconti magnificence. The Pope remained in Milan for a week, and consecrated an altar in the Duomo, the building of which was now well advanced. Filippo Maria himself must have been well content with his prospects, for he was reconstituting his father's Duchy by means of the new military forces of the day.

The age of Filippo Maria was pre-eminently that of the *condottieri*. In his day the duke employed no less than eighteen, amongst them some of the most famous. As a rule, they were men sprung from lowly origins, who had devoted themselves to the art of war. It was the exception to find among them princes, such as Gonzaga or the Malatesta, for as a rule the *condottiere* lived solely by his sword. The captains of that time came into prominence through the necessities of the Italian States. Other countries knew what the "free companies" were; England suffered from them, and in the intervals of the long wars with France the discontented, disbanded soldiery were one of her greatest burdens. In France, where civil war followed so quickly upon foreign invasion, the evil was not as perceptible. Italy was from her circumstances a specially favourable ground for the companies. Giangaleazzo was perpetually proposing leagues for their expulsion, but nothing came of this. With Alberico da Barbiano, who formed the company of San Giorgio, the Italian company came to supersede the foreign one. This was some improvement, though it brought with it special dangers, as the Italian *condottiere* could more easily make himself into a petty Italian lord. Still, Hawkwood's career had shown what an enterprising Englishman could achieve in fourteenth-century Italy, and with the passage of time the *condottiere* became even more formidable to his employers. His prominence arose from the conditions of

Italy. Feudalism had not affected her as it did France and England. The overlord, who in those countries could, as king, control an army, was not to be found in Italy. On the other hand, her city States were not well suited for military adventures. Milan was great because of her trade ; so were Florence and Venice. The citizens had no desire to leave their businesses in order to take up arms, and there was no one to compel them to do so. In addition, the dwellers within city walls always found it difficult to cope with the country nobles living outside. In those days the horseman had an immense advantage over the man who fought on foot ; the long-bow of the English, which transformed the relations of the infantry and cavalry, was unknown to Italy ; the famous formation of long-bow with man-at-arms, which defeated the French so overwhelmingly at Crécy, was impossible elsewhere. The townsman engaged in his business or trade could not obtain the training or equipment necessary for the mounted soldier. Thus he fought, if obliged to do, at a disadvantage. When a local family rose to power it dare not risk its popularity by calling upon the population to fight ; indeed, it usually rose simply because it did away with the fighting. When, therefore, bodies of trained soldiers appeared in Italy in the intervals of the Anglo-French wars seeking employment it was natural for the city States to give it them. The rising lords employed them to add to their acquisitions. When the foreigner became a menace they turned to the native captain. Demand produced supply ; and in the fifteenth century we have such names as Facino Cane, Alberico da Barbiano, Ottobone Terzo, Braccio, Carmagnola, Piccinino, and Sforza. The majority of these were, and remained, only generals ; a few had higher aims. Of these surprisingly few achieved success when we consider their opportunities. Gabriele Fondulo died ignominiously after failing to retain Cremona ; the Vignate were executed after Lodi was recovered ; Facino Cane died of disease before he could

fulfil his ambitions. Others met with misadventure on their campaigns, the elder Sforza being drowned, and Braccio being one of the very few who died from wounds.

Their methods were peculiar, and brought about the somewhat desultory warfare which has provoked the amusement of other ages. The captains were paid by the States employing them, usually on an annual contract, a *condotta* being given for a year, and the salary depending on the captain's reputation and the necessity of his employer. If the war came to a speedy conclusion the *condottiere* was out of a job. If it was a bloody one he lost his valuable trained men. Therefore the warfare of the day tended to be a slow affair, with plenty of time given to sieges, to much marching and counter-marching, and to winter quarters. Battles were usually very bloodless, and, one specially noteworthy feature, prisoners were quite commonly released by their captors after an engagement. Machiavelli ("Il Principe, X.") says, "The mercenaries use all means to preserve their men from fatigue and fear, never killing each other in battle, but taking prisoners and releasing them without ransom. They never fight at night nor in the winter." This system meant, of course, the prolongation of hostilities; but the employer could not protest or hinder the practice, as it was done by arrangement between the various *condottieri*.

The fact that Venice as a sea power was ignorant of the etiquette of land warfare led to one of the most dramatic episodes of the century. For the other feature of the period is the rise of Venice as a land power. Filippo was determined to recover his father's territories, and in order to do so he came into conflict with Venice. The career of Carmagnola is entirely occupied with this contest, and lends to it a special quality. Francesco Bussone was the family name of this great soldier, but he was called Carmagnola from the village near Turin where he was born in 1390. He was of peasant birth, and is said to have begun life as a

swineherd. He soon took to soldiering, enlisted under Facino Cane, and rose to command. Filippo Maria had his attention drawn towards this promising captain by Facino himself, and on his accession to the Duchy made him commander over the army. He was a very successful soldier, as his career proves, but he does not seem to have been a man of great ability, nor of attractive character. His portraits show a type of face which scarcely promised much. This is the description given by a modern writer : " A heavy face, with large and flabby cheeks, coarse, thick lips and eyes with a leer of lewdness and cunning in them . . . a dulled, amorphous, and ignoble countenance, set upon an enormous wrinkled neck." This was what Carmagnola became after prosperity had visited him, but in his early manhood, when the Duke of Milan first saw him, he must have possessed more of energy and fire.

He was brilliantly successful in all that he undertook for the duke. At the head of Facino's former army he had by 1419 recovered Alessandria, Lodi, Como, and Trezzo. Apparently he was uninterested in the trial and execution of Beatrice Tenda, widow of his old commander ; in any case it had no effect on his allegiance to Filippo Maria. He was given as his bride Antoinetta Visconti, a cousin of the duke, and was allowed to quarter the Visconti arms with his own. He earned these privileges, for in 1420 he took Bergamo from the Malatesta, and Lecco, and swept on into the Bresciana. His campaign there was a wonderful success ; he could not at once conquer the city itself, which was strongly held, but he overran the whole countryside and made himself master of the district. Malatesta did the best he could against this foe, but he could not obtain help from his neighbours, who were occupied with their own affairs. Matters in Naples had come to a head. Joanna had completely broken with Louis of Anjou, and made overtures to Alfonso of Aragon. In order to obtain help from him she offered to make him her heir, and did indeed

adopt him as such. She and Alfonso employed as their captain the famous Braccio, while Anjou took Sforza into his pay, and war became a settled condition of affairs in the south.

Faced by the Milanese victories, the smaller princes of the north decided to make the best of the situation. The Estes ceded up Parma to the Visconti, and in 1421 Malatesta withdrew from Brescia and himself went off to enter the Venetian service. The next step was the recovery of Cremona, which had been seized by Fondulo. Carmagnola moved against the city in 1422, and restored it to the duke. Piacenza soon followed and the Mincio became the eastern frontier of Milan.

Now came one of Filippo's greatest triumphs, and one which affected his career vitally, leading to the opportunity for performing his best-known deed of generosity, and also to one of his greatest mistakes. Genoa, which had been the object of much fighting for the past two years, surrendered in 1422. The Doge, Campofregoso, fled, and the city passed once more under the rule of the Visconti. Immense rejoicings broke out in Milan, where people felt that the glories of Giangaleazzo were once more returning. Carmagnola was made governor of the new acquisition. This was in one respect a mark of the honour Filippo Maria wished to bestow on his general; from another point of view it was a convenient way of checking a man who might be thought to be progressing too fast for safety. The duke must have known the power which a successful general possessed whose troops were his personal followers and not those of his employer. Filippo's youth had been overshadowed by fear of Facino Cane; he was not blind to the force of ambition. Moreover, the duke had no heir. Carmagnola had married into the family, his wife being a Visconti of another branch, and was now building himself a great palace in Milan, the Broletto, where his escutcheon would show the Visconti arms. Filippo kept his thoughts to himself, but he sent

Carmagnola to rule in Genoa and gave him no active employment for the moment.

At this juncture fate brought another man to the duke's notice. Away in the south the affairs of Naples went from bad to worse. Joanna II, threatened by Sforza and Anjou, had been obliged to seek other allies. Sforza and Braccio were enemies. These two great captains had originally been comrades under Alberico da Barbiano. They had quarrelled over Braccio's treatment of Muzio's brother, Michele Attendolo Sforza. They each represented a military school—the Braccheschi and the Sforzeschi—and were followed by their adherents, whose quarrels and animosities resounded throughout Italy. The Pope would not commit himself, and Joanna in despair turned to the King of Aragon, who happened to have an ambassador present at the Papal Court at the time. Alfonso was quite ready to revive the ancient claims of his house; in 1421 he sent a fleet to the assistance of the Queen of Naples, and in return was adopted by her as her son. They took Braccio into their employment and sent him to check the advance of Sforza's army. Soon intrigues and jealousy broke out on all sides. Alfonso began to suspect Joanna, hostilities slackened, and Sforza and Braccio were reconciled. Louis of Anjou left his army and joined Martin V in Rome.

Now in 1423 the queen changed her whole policy, she quarrelled violently with Alfonso and sent friendly emissaries to Louis of Anjou. Encouraged by Sforza she sent for Louis, who came to Naples, and Alfonso being repudiated, Anjou was declared her appointed heir in his stead. The commanders too changed sides, and now Sforza fought on her behalf against Braccio, the general of Alfonso. The great siege of Aquila took all Braccio's energies throughout the year, though Alfonso urged him to abandon it. Sforza, having done well in the country areas, determined to relieve the city; he had to cross the river Pescara, behind which lay Braccio's camp; the river was flooded by a storm

and Sforza was drowned. He left behind him his son Francesco, now nearly twenty-three, who carried on his father's task, became head of the Sforzeschi, and succeeded in relieving Aquila. This feat brought him into prominence, and Filippo Maria decided to avail himself of the services of the rising genius. Filippo had been induced to take part in the Neapolitan war, and disliking the vigour and activity of Alfonso he decided to oppose his accession to Naples. Now that Genoa gave him a port he was able to possess a fleet; this fleet was sent, under Guido Torello, to help Joanna. Torello met Francesco Sforza, thought highly of him, and recommended him to the duke.

The successes of the new *condottiere* confirmed this good opinion. Sforza recaptured Naples. His rival Braccio died of wounds. Francesco seemed in a fair way to become the greatest captain of the day.

In 1425 Filippo Maria made him a definite offer of employment, which was accepted. Francesco came north to serve the man whose State he was one day to inherit. In this year Filippo's only child, Bianca Maria, was born; she was the daughter of Agnese del Maino, who in the following year gave birth to another child, a daughter, which only survived a few days. Bianca, though illegitimate, was in the end to be reckoned as Filippo's heiress, and to become the wife of the first Sforza duke, this same Francesco.

Nor was the year to pass without one more notable incident. Carmagnola chafed at the inactivity of Genoa. He felt that he was shelved, and he may have foreseen danger in the employment of Sforza. He now had to suffer what he considered an insult: part of his troops were to be detached from his command and sent to serve under Torello. Scarcely had he received this order than a further one came, superseding him as governor and instructing him to hand over Genoa to Isolani. Furious and suspicious, Carmagnola rushed to Milan; he demanded an interview with the duke, but was met by a refusal. Filippo was

comfortably withdrawn in the distant room of his Castello ; he sent word to the enraged captain that any business would be done by the astrologer Riccio. This was too much for Carmagnola. He took horse and, abandoning wife, children, his palace and his lands, he rode straight to Venice. He arrived at the very moment when Venice was hesitating between peace or war with Milan.

It had been inevitable that Filippo's successes should rouse the alarm of his neighbours. Florence had determined on action, and had formed an alliance with Alfonso of Aragon. An embassy had been sent to Venice, urging her to join with them. In the Venetian Senate, parties were divided. The older men wished to preserve peace. Their leader had been the Doge Mocenigo, who took what may be called the commercial view. In 1420 he had made his famous exposition of mutual interdependence which trade set up between Venice and Milan. Both cities depended upon their commercial prosperity. The trade between them was enormous : " We receive every year 900,000 ducats in gold from Milan, cloth worth 120,000 ducats. We give the Lombard in return cotton goods, woollens, cloth of gold and silks, pepper, drugs, sugar, soaps . . . the which traffic employs so many ships in all parts of the world that Venice in freights and provisions receives $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent." War would destroy this volume of trade, and the destruction of Milan would mean the loss of Venice's best customer. Against this view Foscari, leader of the younger party, urged what may be called the policy of land expansion. To their minds Venice could not retain her position simply by trade. Milan had under Giangaleazzo threatened to absorb all North Italy. Filippo Maria was following his father's policy : Venice must combat him or run the risk of destruction. In 1423 Mocenigo died and Foscari was elected Doge. He was bent on war and welcomed the embassy from Florence, suggesting an alliance against Milan, but it was necessary to convince the

Senate. At this juncture Carmagnola arrived. Foscari brought him before the Senate, and he made a speech, telling the councillors what were the resources of Filippo Maria. Then Foscari rose: "Carmagnola's speech has laid before you the power and resources of Filippo. They are not so great as rumour has presented . . . war is necessary, for our enemy is powerful and aspires to the sovereignty of Italy. . . . Let us embark upon this war and trample in the dust the common foe to the everlasting peace of Italy." The speech carried the day; war was decided upon, and Carmagnola was made a captain-general of the forces of St. Mark (January, 1426).

Filippo Maria, barely secure in his recovered possessions, entered upon the second phase of his reign, by war with Venice and her allies. The League formed by Venice and Florence was joined by Savoy, Ferrara, Montferrat, and Mantua, and the first campaigns went against Filippo Maria. The war went slowly, for it was chiefly fought by cavalry, and the difficulties of transport and fodder were great. Sforza was sent to defend Brescia, which was attacked by Carmagnola. He quarrelled with his fellow-captain, Piccinino, and though Carmagnola himself went off to take the baths at Abano, his engineers carried on the siege successfully and Brescia fell. During the siege, while Carmagnola was at Abano, messengers were constantly sent to him from Filippo Maria, trying to induce him to return to his old master. In 1427 the second campaign began. Casal Maggiore was taken by Filippo, but was retaken by Carmagnola, who wished to release the prisoners but consent was refused by Venice. Relations between the captain-general and the Senate began to be strained. Carmagnola always reported the messages sent him by Filippo Maria, but Venice not unnaturally disliked the constant communication with the enemy. Some have thought Filippo acted intentionally, and that under the guise of putting forward negotiations for peace he hoped to embroil Carmagnola with his new employer.

The Venetians pressed on both by land and also up the Po to Cremona. There a battle was fought at Gottolonga which was indecisive, but the Venetian flotilla was encouraged to sail on nearly to Pavia. At a second battle Filippo Maria himself came to encourage his troops. His whole position was one of great danger, for Savoy and Montferrat had attacked on his western frontier. After the engagement, which was again indecisive, Filippo was relieved by the action of Carmagnola, who suddenly withdrew from Cremona and returned to the Bresciano. The duke now made a bad mistake : dissatisfied with Sforza and Piccinino, he added yet a third to his generals, by appointing Carlo Malatesta as commander. Violent quarrels prevented concerted actions by the Milanese troops, until before Carmagnola's camp at Maclodio, on October 11, 1427, Malatesta made the ill-advised decision to attack. He sent his troops to advance along a narrow causeway which ran across the marshes. Carmagnola with his archers shot down the column from either side, while his infantry attacked the head. The Milanese were driven into the marshes and many perished ; Malatesta and a large body were captured with all the baggage ; the rest fled. Venice might well have thought her enemy was destroyed, and her rage and disappointment were intense when she heard that Carmagnola had released all the prisoners, said to number 19,000, who had been allowed by him to depart to Milan to refit. Close upon this came the news that Filippo Maria had come to terms with Savoy. He had seen that it was imperative to secure his western frontier, and that he could not hope to beat back Venice with divided forces. A treaty was signed, by which Filippo gave Vercelli to Savoy, and himself married Maria, the daughter of Amedeus VII. A few months later Venice also decided on peace, and terms were agreed to at Ferrara in April, 1428, by which Filippo Maria yielded Brescia and Bergamo. Both parties were dissatisfied with their generals. Venice felt that Carmagnola

had not pressed his advantage and had indeed thrown away the great opportunity of Macclodio. Filippo Maria had lost valuable territory, and was thoroughly disappointed in Sforza. He had throughout the war sent messengers constantly to Carmagnola, and possibly regretted him. He now ordered Sforza to be imprisoned, and when induced to believe that Francesco was innocent of treachery he sent him off to Lucca.

Florence also was aggrieved, for she had got nothing out of the war and had spent three and a half millions of florins upon it. She began to be jealous of Venice and the new imperialism of that State. Cosimo di Medici was now head of his House and exercising power in the city. He decided to try to obtain more tangible results than those accruing from the Milanese war. Accordingly, he planned and embarked upon an attack on the neighbouring republic of Lucca. Sforza was employed by Lucca, and for a while enabled the smaller city to hold her own. Eventually Florence bribed him to withdraw, and he went on to Apulia, leaving Lucca to struggle on against her enemy. Filippo Maria, anxious to frustrate Florence, then sent Piccinino to help, and under him a severe defeat was inflicted on Florence in December, 1430. Florence was fully occupied with her efforts and could take little part in the second war between Venice and Milan. For those adversaries had been too discontented with the peace of Ferrara to wish to observe it. Both were prepared for a further struggle, and cast about for allies. One fact had been borne in upon Filippo Maria clearly: if he was to meet Venice, and possibly Florence, with success, he must be secure from attacks on his rear. His western frontier was always threatened by Savoy and Montferrat. Savoy he had won over by the treaty of 1428, and had been willing to pay the price of a marriage alliance. Montferrat however was more difficult to cope with. The marquis, Giacomo Paleologo, had negotiated secretly with Venice. He had quarrelled with

Amedeus of Savoy over Asti, which both coveted. The Venetian League had promised Montferrat he should keep both Asti and Alessandria if he conquered them. The intrigues which took place are astonishingly tortuous and difficult to follow. Venice was most anxious to retain Montferrat as an ally, but both she and Florence urged the marquis to exercise the greatest caution, as were Filippo Maria to be given any provocation he would be certain to attack and try to crush Montferrat before his allies could come to the rescue. Throughout 1428 and 1429 secret negotiations were carried on by all parties. The Duke of Milan tried to bribe Montferrat, but found his demands too high, and decided that it would be better to have him as an enemy than give in to his exorbitant requests. Matters grew worse. Risings took place on the Riviera di Ponente, stirred up by Venice. Genoa was clearly likely to join Montferrat in any action against Milan. Venice herself encouraged the marquis to keep up an appearance of friendly relations with Milan, and a sort of agreement was actually come to. The duke and marquis agreed "not to offend each other," and not to make war; but the whole business was insincere. Montferrat was secretly communicating all the negotiations to Venice, while Filippo Maria hoped that the agreement might raise doubts in the mind of Venice as to the honesty of her ally. Once Filippo Maria sent agents to Carmagnola suggesting that he should arbitrate between Milan and Montferrat, but the terms of reference could not be agreed upon. At length, in 1431, it became clear that war was once more likely to break out. Savoy was bound to Milan by the marriage alliance and by the cession of Vercelli. Venice knew that Amedeus was disloyal to her, but she was negotiating with the Emperor and hoped that she would be able to win him over. Filippo Maria, however, was too quick for her. He was at this time on good terms with Sigismund, and he knew that technically Savoy could only come to his assistance if empowered to do so by the

emperor. Judicious bribery was successful, Filippo even making the sacrifice of his claims on Genoa. Sigismund notified Savoy that he intended shortly to visit Italy for his coronation, and bade Amedeus render help if necessary against the foe of the Empire, Venice.

In 1431 war was again declared between Venice and Milan. Filippo sent to the emperor asking him to instruct Savoy to assist Milan, and specially requesting that the order should be as peremptory as possible, so as to save Amedeus's face in deserting his former allies. Sigismund obligingly did so, in return, of course, for further gifts from Filippo Maria. Venice on her side induced Florence to join with her; and the two republics guaranteed payment to Montferrat if he would take the field on their behalf. The marquis, relying in his turn on his relationship with Savoy, for he had married one of the daughters of Amedeus, felt himself strong enough to do so. He invaded the Milanese, and owing to the absence of troops on that frontier took no less than twenty castles. Filippo Maria, hard pressed, saw that he must do the best he could. He promised Amedeus that if Savoy would deal with Montferrat she could keep all the territory she won. This was exactly what Amedeus had schemed for, and he readily relieved Filippo Maria from all responsibility in the west.

On the east Filippo had to meet the fierce attack of Venice, whose armies were once more commanded by Carmagnola and by the Marquis of Mantua. Against them the duke felt he must employ Sforza. Accordingly, he sent to secure his services. Venice tried to outbid him, but the duke, in addition to money, offered the hand of his daughter Bianca Maria. This was decisive, and Sforza, after bargaining for a dowry which should include the key town of Cremona, came north, once more. Venice planned an attack both by land and water. Her flotilla sailed up the Po to Cremona, while Carmagnola besieged the city with his army (May 1431). Filippo Maria sent his fleet against the

Venetians, while Sforza attacked them on land. A great naval victory was won by the Milanese at Bina, and the whole Venetian flotilla was taken and destroyed. Carmagnola's dilatory methods produced no better results for Venice on land; he was defeated at Soncino, and completely failed in his attack on Cremona. During the naval fight he did nothing whatever, alleging that he expected to be attacked by the Milanese under Piccinino. Venice was exasperated by his inactivity, and had for long resented his continual reception of the envoys sent to him by the duke. He was recalled to Venice, and obeyed the summons apparently without apprehension. On his arrival he was at once arrested and thrown into prison. He was first tortured, then put upon his trial. A bill of attainder was brought against him "on a charge of injury wrought by him to the affairs of Venice." The Doge, Foscari, who had remained his friend, in vain spoke on his behalf. For six years he had been in Venetian employment, and his behaviour had grown increasingly unsatisfactory. Venice had been patient, but she was now convinced that his inactivity was due to deliberate treachery, and was the outcome of his perpetual negotiations with Filippo Maria. The motion for his execution was carried by twenty-five votes to one, nine others voting for delay. The decision was put into force at once, and on the evening of May 5, 1432, Carmagnola was beheaded on the Piazza of San Marco. He went to his death with calmness, having dressed himself splendidly in crimson velvet. According to Venetian practice he was gagged, and so could not speak to the assembled crowd on his behalf. Whether he was actually guilty or not outside authorities have never been able to decide.

The Marquis of Mantua assumed command and entered the Ghiara d'Adda. Piccinino opposed him and was wounded at a battle on the Oglio.

Freed from apprehension by the victory of Bina and the

withdrawal of Carmagnola from the scene, Filippo Maria was able to turn his attention to the position of affairs as regarded Montferrat. Amedeus had occupied Asti, but had contented himself with that. Piccinino was now sent against the marquis and defeated him heavily. The country was overrun and laid waste. Amedeus of Savoy, who had his own private ends in view, was secretly dismayed. He was forced to agree to a partition treaty, which was signed on behalf of Savoy and Milan at Abbiate. Visconti was to have all the land round Asti, Casale, San Salvatore, Castelletto, and certain territory which had belonged to Genoa. Savoy was to have the land on the right bank of the Tanaro, and that portion on the left occupied by Milan up to the Po. Montferrat in vain appealed to the Emperor; he could not obtain a hearing, so turned instead to Savoy, with whom he came to terms. The secret pact of Thonon was drawn up between them, by which the marquis undertook to surrender all his inheritance to Savoy, and to hold it only as a fief. In return Savoy was to try to induce Filippo Maria to restore the territory he had occupied. Unconscious of the treachery of his ally, the duke had been preparing for the advent of the Emperor. Sigismund crossed the Alps in 1432 coming to receive his double coronation. He undertook to negotiate peace, which was now desired by all parties. Venice had lost Carmagnola and borne heavy lossess. Florence was thoroughly exhausted by her financial outgoings, and was occupied by the internal strife with the Medici. Filippo Maria had also felt the strain of war, and had lost his general Piccinino, who had been so severely wounded at Bina that he was permanently lame and unfitted for warfare. The Venetians had won many successes and occupied a good deal of territory, and Milan was feeling the financial burden severely, coupled with the large subsidies paid to Sigismund. The rest of Italy was beginning to feel some alarm at the power of Venice; Sigismund wrote to Amedeus: "After

the Duke of Milan has been eliminated, your ruin and that of the other princes will follow." The Marquis of Ferrara said that if Venice triumphed over Visconti, Ferrara and even Savoy would have much to fear.

At this juncture Filippo's hands were strengthened by his remarkable victory over the Swiss. An army of Swiss mercenaries, led by Corner, took advantage of Milan's difficulties and crossed the Alps to attack her. They were met and totally defeated at Delebrio in the Valtelline. The Milanese cavalry dismounted, surrounded the Swiss, and broke their formation. The whole of the Swiss army was either killed or captured. This success gave the duke a better chance of holding his own in negotiating with the League. Peace was eventually signed at Ferrara with Florence and Venice, on terms which may be considered quite favourable to Filippo Maria. He restored his conquests in Tuscany, but kept Pontremoli. The *status quo* was restored between Florence, Siena, and Lucca : Filippo Maria was not to interfere in Tuscany unless Florence attacked Lucca or Siena, which were to remain independent.

As regards Montferrat, Savoy conducted the negotiations, and endeavoured to persuade Filippo to restore the territory he had conquered. The duke refused and declared his adherence to the partition treaty of Abbiate. In the end peace was made on condition that the delimitation of frontiers should be referred to arbitration. Sigismund entered Milan, and was crowned with the iron crown of Lombardy. For reasons known only to himself, Filippo Maria refused to see the Emperor. He gave orders for his entertainment, but shut himself up and absolutely declined any interviews. Sigismund was bitterly offended and went on to Rome, taking Sforza with him. He did not however remain long in Italy, for the Council of Basel shortly summoned him to deal with the question of John Huss and his followers.

A change was coming over the diplomatic world of Italy.

For a while the centre of trouble shifted to Rome. Sforza embarked on a career of conquest in the Romagna, and rapidly won himself the nucleus of a State. Filippo Maria, jealous of this, stirred up Fortebraccio against him. Rome was attacked and the Pope fled for safety to Florence. There he found Cosimo dei Medici had just established himself in power (1434). He had been exiled from Florence after the failure of the Luccan war, and had gone to Venice, where he made many friends. Eugenius IV was himself a Venetian and full of hatred against the Visconti. Cosimo was resolved on a further League against Milan, and on his restoration to Florence in 1434 he intended to see that Florence remained definitely anti-Visconti. For this policy he has been blamed, some thinking that he should have seen Venice was more to be feared than Milan.

The position was delicate. The Pope was opposed to Alfonso of Aragon, at this juncture the ally of Visconti, and on this score Eugenius was ready to join a League against Milan. On the other hand, he was beginning to fear Sforza, whose operations in the March were too successful to please the Pope. Yet if a League against Milan were to be formed it was most desirable that Sforza should be its general. Cosimo decided to invite him to Florence to meet the Pope; this was done, and the visit of Francesco laid the foundations of a permanent friendship between him and Cosimo.

Against this threatened combination Filippo Maria was obliged to seek help; he turned once more to Savoy, knowing that Amedeus had quarrelled with Venice. Amedeus, indeed, had not profited by his double dealing with Montferrat. His plans, which it must have been difficult for his contemporaries to unravel, have been made clear to posterity through the publication of the State archives of the various powers. He had, under cover of obedience to the Emperor, occupied part of Montferrat in order to assist Visconti. By the secret pact of Thonon he had then promised the marquis to recover from Visconti the territory

which the Milanese had seized, and he had meant that the whole of the marquisate should be held as a fief from Savoy. Giangiacomo, however, though he yielded in the face of threatened disaster, had, when the worst moment was over, sought help against the rapacity of his kinsman. He had gone to Venice, where he was hospitably received. Venetian diplomats could well comprehend Amedeus's plans, and measures were decided upon to thwart them. Venice set herself to prevent the fulfilment of the pact of Thonon. She had ingratiated herself with the Emperor, who now endeavoured to compel Amedeus to join in the attack on Milan. Amedeus refused point-blank, declaring that Savoy was no longer to be reckoned a member of the League.

Proposals were now set on foot for a close alliance between Savoy and Milan. Every neighbouring ruler had by this time realized that Filippo Maria, having no legitimate children, all sorts of possibilities existed over the Milanese succession. In June of 1434 Savoy proposed mutual aid against Venice, and the adoption of a Savoyard prince by Filippo Maria. Strange as the proposal sounds to us, Filippo pretended to agree, stipulating that only a part of Milan should be given to the selected heir. By refraining from specifying what part, negotiations could be protracted endlessly. At the same time Amedeus made an effort to improve the position of the unfortunate Maria of Savoy, who had never been allowed to assume her proper place as Filippo's wife, and indeed had never set foot within the Castello. Further negotiations brought out a proposal for the duke to bequeath a part of his possessions to a Savoyard prince, provided he had no male heir, either legitimate or illegitimate. Such a proviso made Savoy realize the futility of the plan, and accordingly in the final draft of the treaty no mention of any adoption occurs.

Savoy and Milan guaranteed each other mutual aid against attack ; 1,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry were to be sent by the one ally to the help of the other. Peace was

only to be made by common consent and all acquisitions were to be equally divided. Filippo Maria is said to have received the ambassadors who brought Savoy's final consent *ilariter*. On October 6th Savoy publicly denounced her League with Venice. On the 7th the Duchess Maria was allowed to enter the Castello di Porta Giovia in state, though Filippo refused himself to see her. Her public position had been slightly improved, and no power on earth could induce Filippo to do more. Montferrat was, through the good offices of the duke, personally, included in the reconciliation. He did homage to Savoy for most of his lands, but in reality he kept control in his own hands, and he retained more than had seemed likely. Venice abandoned him and decided to concentrate upon her own frontier; she was completely alienated from Savoy, who, she said, had not even given up as much territory to the marquis as Filippo Maria had done.

The new League was determined to win over Sforza to their service. Francesco was on bad terms with the duke, who persistently refused to fulfil his obligations and give Bianca Maria to her betrothed. Accordingly he agreed to come over to the League, provided that he was not compelled to cross the Po and actually invade Milanese territory.

Meanwhile great things occurred in Naples. Joanna died in 1435, and left her kingdom to René of Anjou. Alfonso disputed his claim and civil war raged. Filippo Maria, the friend of Martin V, who was Anjou's ally, sent down his fleet from Genoa, commanded by Biagio Assauto, a sailor of very humble origin but described by Corio as "truly a great man." Biagio won a most brilliant naval victory at Ponza near Gaeta, destroyed the whole Aragonese fleet and captured both Alfonso himself and his brother, the King of Navarre. The two were brought in triumph to Milan, where Filippo Maria received them most courteously. Within a few weeks all Italy was astonished by the news that the duke had released his illustrious prisoners without

any ransom or exacting any conditions whatever. No certain reason has been put forward to account for this unexpectedly generous action. Filippo Maria secured the friendship and alliance of Alfonso ; but at the time that did not seem of any great value. Corio says that his action was caused by his fear lest Anjou should triumph and the earlier apprehensions which Giangaleazzo had felt towards French intervention be realized. This may be so, but the immediate result of the action was most disadvantageous to Filippo. The victory had been won by a fleet drawn from Genoa, and the Genoese had expected a large share in the ransom which no one doubted would be exacted. Disappointed in this, and stirred up by agents from Florence and Venice, Genoa broke into revolt and once more asserted her independence and joined the war against Milan (1436).

Venice now entered the struggle. She sent her armies, commanded by the Marquis of Mantua, to attack Milan. The first attack was beaten off, and meanwhile messengers sped south to recall Piccinino to meet this new peril. Piccinino came and more than held his own. He forced back the marquis, entered the Bresciana, and threatened Brescia itself. Venice decided to apply to Florence for the loan of Sforza, who was at that time engaged against Lucca. Florence did not wish to give up his services, and a quarrel took place between the two republics. This was the beginning of a breach which was in the end to leave Venice isolated. Florence felt that she had gained little in the Visconti wars, while Venice had acquired Brescia and Bergamo. Venice, on the other hand, declared that Florence had thought of nothing but acquiring Lucca, and had wasted all her energies on that effort. Deprived of Sforza's services Florence decided to give up the war. She accepted mediation with Lucca and thought of coming to terms with Milan. Venice had to carry on as best she could. At first she met with success, and the duke, deeply enraged against Sforza, began to cast about for allies to help him

in the struggle. He came to terms with the Pope, declaring himself "a good and devout son of the Church," and sent Francesco Piccinino, son of the great Niccolo, to restore to Eugenius the territory which Sforza had seized in the March. He was to be aided by Acquaviva, a well-known *condottiere* of the south who had been captured at the battle of Ponza. Acquaviva was now released and sent to help against Sforza. In the letters which passed between him and the duke, Filippo Maria begs that he will co-operate heartily with "*lo spectabile Francesco Piccinino.*" The two attacked Sforza and were defeated; but obtaining reinforcements they began to press him hard. It seemed as if Sforza's dream of a central State was to be rudely shattered. At this precise moment he was saved by the action of the Duke of Milan himself. Florence proposed peace, and Filippo, anxious to isolate Venice, agreed. As part of the negotiations, Filippo once more promised Sforza the hand of his daughter. Preparations were actually set on foot for the wedding. They came to nothing, for no sooner was peace with Florence accomplished than the duke again postponed the ceremony. Furious at this disappointment, Sforza turned to Venice and agreed to accept her offer of the command of her forces. Cosimo de Medici used his influence and persuaded Florence to give her consent to the transfer, which was technically necessary. The position of Venice was indeed full of danger. In 1438 Niccolo Piccinino, commanding the Visconti forces, invaded Venetian territory. Hitherto, until she could secure Sforza, Venice had employed as her general Gianfrancesco Gonzaga Marquis of Mantua. He now retired from the command, and secretly began plotting to join the Visconti. Gonzaga was a much-respected prince, and considered to be a most honourable man, and his betrayal of his former employers is at first sight astonishing. Yet his reasons are not hard to discover, and were based on the behaviour of Venice herself. The Venetians enraged their generals by the system which the

republic's suspicion of the *condottieri* led her to adopt. She had hit on the plan of sending two or more civilians, called *provveditori* with every army, who interfered and checked the general in command at every turn. Further, Gonzaga feared that in the event of ill success he might suffer the fate of Carmagnola, whose execution had horrified every *condottiere*. If he were to desert Venice he must clearly seek protection, for mere neutrality would not be allowed him, owing to his geographical position between Venice and Milan. Resolved on rupture with Venice, he made secret overtures to Filippo Maria. When Piccinino advanced, Gonzaga and his army joined him, and Venice was only saved from total disaster by timely retreat. While Piccinino attacked Brescia, Gonzaga marched on Verona. In vain Venice tried to bribe Piccinino, begging him to join her "and humble the pride of the duke and the Marquis of Mantua." Piccinino remained loyal and laid siege to Verona, which he captured (1439). These disasters made Venice desperate, and she insisted on the employment of Sforza, despite the breach which this involved with Florence.

Sforza himself wrote to Cosimo: "Venice stands as if in water up to the throat and is almost ruined." Francesco changed all this. He took over the command of the Venetian army, recaptured Verona, and overran all the Ghiara d'Adda, defeating the Milanese at Soncino. Piccinino was transferred to Tuscany, where he wasted his time taking small castles, and moving off towards Perugia, his native city, on which he had designs. He even threatened Florence, and roused her to bitter animosity by threatening to restore her exiles. Sforza's victories in Lombardy in 1440 caused Filippo Maria to recall his general. Piccinino set out with his army, but at Anghiari encountered the troops which Florence had hurriedly got together in order to intercept his march. With great rashness Piccinino attacked the extremely strong Florentine position. He was driven off, and after terribly heavy losses retreated in

disorder. The famous cartoon of Leonardo da Vinci celebrates the capture of the Milanese standards and the fight in the river. Leonardo's notes, written in his own hand, as a guide to his depiction of the battle give in themselves a vivid account: "It must be shown how the Patriarch of Aquileja took horse, and how the whole army followed him, forty squadrons of cavalry and 2,000 infantry went with him. . . . Francesco Piccinino, son of Niccolo, commanded the foremost ranks of the enemy. . . . At the bridge a desperate fight ensues. . . . The Milanese capture the bridge and press forward as far as the tents. . . . Then Simonetto forces them to quit the field and retakes the bridge. . . . The battle rages for a long time. Niccolo Piccinino pushes forward with the remainder of his forces, and causes our [Florentine] ranks to waver, so that had not the Patriarch himself made an attack we had been forced to seek our safety in flight. With the help of a body of artillery, placed upon the hill, he made havoc among the Milanese infantry. They fell into so great confusion that Niccolo gave orders to his son to withdraw his troops, and they fled to Borgo. Great was their defeat; only those escaped who had at the first taken refuge in flight. The battle lasted till sundown, when the Patriarch recalled his troops that they might bury the slain and erect a trophy."

The battle, so contemporaries thought, might "have ended the war had the victors known how to use it," but the Florentines did not follow up their advantage. Piccinino got safely away and met Sforza in the Bresciana, where fierce but indecisive fighting took place. Filippo Maria saw that Sforza was too strong; he made overtures to him and accepted his mediation with Florence. The republic, still angry with Venice, was ready to come to terms and abandon her ally. In 1441 peace was signed between Florence and Milan at Cavriana. At the same time Bianca Maria was sent from Milan to be wedded to Sforza at Cremona, her dowry town, for the soldier would not trust

himself within the walls of Milan. The marriage took place with great solemnities, the bride being sixteen years old and the bridegroom forty. Filippo Maria himself did not attend the wedding, but remained in Milan, and directly the festivities were over Bianca and her husband departed for the south, where Francesco's interests lay.

A change now came over the political situation of the various States, due in a large measure to the action of Sforza. Though he had secured his wife, he was in reality not much nearer the goal of his ambition, namely, the succession to Milan ; for Filippo Maria became more hostile to his son-in-law in proportion to the *condottiere's* success. He did not wish to hold any intercourse with him, and preferred to part with his daughter altogether. Sforza went to consolidate his own position in the March : he was indeed summoned away by the news that his possessions in the Romagna were being attacked by the combined forces of the Papacy and Alfonso of Aragon. Naples had been gradually conquered by Alfonso, and the cause of Anjou was almost desperate. Eugenius IV had realized this, and decided that he must change his policy. He left Florence in 1443 and returned to Rome, where he at once began negotiations with Alfonso. These resulted in a complete reconciliation, and a league was formed between the two who had for so many years been in bitter opposition. The Pope was largely influenced in this direction by his fears of Sforza. The State which Francesco had carved out for himself in the March had been at the expense of the Papacy. Eugenius dreaded his power, and he no longer feared that of the Visconti. It was decided that Alfonso should attack Sforza, and Piccinino should be his general. At first the project met with great success. Sforza was heavily defeated, and seemed likely to lose his possessions. He was cheered by the birth of a son, which took place at Fermo in 1444, and hoped that this event would conciliate the Duke of Milan. He sent messengers to inform Filippo

Maria of the birth of this grandchild, and asked what name he would wish given to the boy. Filippo, not to be drawn, replied that the matter was one of indifference to him, but the parents none the less decided to give a Visconti name, and the child was christened Galeazzo Maria. Fortune once more returned to Sforza's arms ; Filippo Maria was induced to join with Florence and Venice in opposition to the Pope. Piccinino was summoned to a conference at Milan, and his son was in his absence totally defeated at Montolmo. Piccinino died of grief on hearing of the destruction of his army and the capture of his son. The Pope saw himself deprived of his defenders and agreed to negotiate. A truce was signed in 1444, whereby Sforza was left in possession of his territories in the Romagna.

The truce was of short duration. It was against all Filippo Maria's feelings to join with Venice and Florence in support of his son-in-law. He had perhaps suffered from a fit of nervous apprehension lest Piccinino should become too successful. That fear was now removed, and once more the duke decided to try to stamp on the threatening growth of Francesco's power. He insisted on the release of Francesco Piccinino, summoned him to Milan, gave him an excellent reception and made him lieutenant-general of the ducal forces. A treaty was arranged with Genoa, where the new Doge, Adorno, was a friend of Filippo Maria. The duke began to negotiate with the Pope, and to attempt to stir up trouble in the Romagna, with the object of upsetting Sforza's position there.

The Pope and Alfonso were quite ready for war upon Francesco. Niccolo Piccinino being dead, they sought and found a new general in Sigismondo Malatesta, the great lord of Rimini. Malatesta proved completely successful, capturing all Sforza's castles. Sforza lost practically all the March. In this crisis Cosimo de Medici intervened to save Francesco. The relations between Florence and Venice were no longer good, but Cosimo wished at all costs to help

his friend. Venice yielded to his persuasions, and once more declared war upon Milan. The storm-centre this time was Cremona, which was the key to the river system on the Milanese-Venetian frontier. Filippo Maria had given up the city to Sforza with the greatest reluctance, and when disaster overtook Francesco in the March, the duke thought a good opportunity had come for attempting to recover Cremona. He dispatched Francesco Piccinino against it, and Venice sent to warn Sforza, while she herself found in the need to defend the city the pretext for war. Sforza could not come to defend his possessions, for he was being fiercely attacked by the Pope and the Neapolitans. He clung obstinately to the Romagna and obtained money and supplies from his friend Cosimo. Venice undertook to cope with Visconti and his attacks on Cremona. She bribed his general, William of Montferrat, who played the traitor and deserted Filippo Maria.

Her army was sent forward under Michelotto Attendolo, who at Casal Maggior inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Milanese (September, 1446). The Venetians followed up their victory, passed Crema, and advanced on Milan. They succeeded in crossing the Adda by night, and hoped that the destruction of the Visconti was at hand. Severe weather however stopped their advance, and winter rendering further operations for a time impossible gave Filippo Maria a breathing space.

At this time the duke presents many claims for pity. He was growing old, his health had for long been bad, and he was becoming blind. He had no near relatives to be with him ; his only child was married to the man who had always threatened him, and who had never shown any signs of caring for anything but his own selfish aggrandisement. The long years of his reign had brought nothing but an incessant struggle, and now, with his powers failing, the position seemed worse than ever.

Visconti, fully realizing his danger, made a desperate effort to obtain help. He sent messages to Alfonso, to

France, to Sforza, and to Cosimo dei Medici. Cosimo, now dreading the complete victory of Venice, reversed his policy and determined to help the duke. The many fluctuations of his policy are indeed due to his being an exponent of the theory of a "balance of power." He perpetually strove to play off one Italian State against another, urging on a war to depress the most powerful, then siding with the defeated power in order to thwart the aggressions of the victor. Such a plan did nothing to settle the fortunes of Italy, and in the end the dissensions of the perpetually warring States led directly to foreign intervention. Alarmed now at the threatened collapse of Milan and the triumph of Venice, Cosimo agreed to act as mediator between Filippo Maria and Sforza. The duke saw that desperate remedies were required. He offered to recognize Sforza as his heir and to appoint him captain-general of the Milanese forces. Venice was now threatening to acquire Cremona for herself, and, stung by this, Sforza was willing to take command against her. He thought that he could wring all he required out of Filippo by a little further delay. Despite the urgency with which Cosimo pressed him to act and to march to the help of Milan, he remained in the Romagna. The Venetians advanced to within three miles of Milan itself. They hoped that the discontented elements within the great city, and notably the Guelfs, with whom they had intrigued, would rise on their behalf. These expectations were disappointed; the citizens were loyal to their duke, the Guelfs did not rise; Milan prepared to defend herself with the utmost resolution. The Venetian commander knew that an assault on so great a city could not prove successful and withdrew from before the walls.

Within the Castello, Filippo Maria received the news at a moment when he was almost indifferent to it. He had been stricken down by fever and dysentery, and had no desire to live and little concern with what should happen after his death. It was uncertain whether he wished to

designate either Alfonso or Sforza as his heir. He is reputed to have declined to nominate either and to have said "he hoped all would go to ruin after he was gone." He died on August 14, 1447, in the Castello of Milan, leaving no legitimate heir and no settlement of the succession to the Duchy.

With the death of Filippo Maria all fell into confusion. Sforza had overreached himself; he was far away from Milan and had lost his opportunity by not being present when the duke died. He claimed the succession in virtue of his wife, the sole child of Filippo, but illegitimate. Other claimants were in the field. Alfonso of Aragon asserted that the duke had made him his heir by adoption, and had nominated him two days before his death; he had been able to introduce his troops into the Castello, and the day after Filippo's death his banner was hoisted from the towers. Not far away lay the army of another and most formidable claimant, the Duke of Orleans. He was the male descendant of Valentina, daughter of Giangaleazzo and half-sister of Filippo Maria. As such he claimed to be, and was, the nearest lawful heir, and in addition he could quote the will of Giangaleazzo, showing Milan was devised to his sons and their lawful heirs, and failing them to his daughter and her lawful heirs. When Filippo appealed for help against Venice, France had responded by sending troops, and her army had crossed the Alps and reached Asti shortly before the duke's death. More remote and less redoubtable were the descendants of Bernabò's daughter, the Hapsburgs, Albert and Sigismund, who however did at first put in their claims, though nothing ever came of them.

Savoy too claimed a right through the marriages contracted by the Visconti with their house, but these claims were only put forward with the idea of being bought off.

Milan herself solved the problem for the time being. There were too many claimants in the field. She might have yielded to one strong man, but in the multitude she saw her chance. The citizens, led by four members of the

College of Jurisprudence, met and proclaimed the "Golden Ambrosian Republic," called after the great saint of Milan. The soldiers of the late duke, unwilling to serve a foreigner such as Alfonso or Orleans, joined the mob. The Castello was seized and totally destroyed. With the disappearance of its great red walls and towers the people believed they saw the disappearance of despotic rule and the dawn of a new era. Florence and Venice showed that republics could still live in Italy, and Milan hoped to follow their example. Three years later the collapse of the Ambrosian Republic showed how vain their hopes had been. Venice and Florence merely profited by the death of Visconti to attack the Milanese, each trying to acquire territory and strengthen her own position. Milan, forced to struggle for her very existence, tried to make head against her enemies by employing Sforza, the best general of the day. Francesco had pretended to acquiesce in the establishment of the republic, and swore to serve her loyally. He took command of her armies, but he had no intention of setting the new republic on her feet. By the end of 1449 he was himself besieging the city, and in February, 1450, the inhabitants were starved into surrender. On the 26th he entered the city as the recognized successor of the Visconti and proclaimed the foundation of the Sforza dynasty.

Cosimo dei Medici had influenced Florence against the new republic, being obsessed by fear of Venice. He dreaded lest Venice should succeed in acquiring the Milanese, and thus forming an overwhelmingly powerful State in North Italy. He therefore wished to see Milan handed over to Francesco Sforza. He could not foresee that the formation of such a Venetian State might have been best for Italy: Venice at least would have kept out the foreigner. The Sforzas were destined to invite them. The fatal policy of Ludovico Il Moro brought the French into Italy. Once they had spied out the weakness of the land it was inevitable that they should revive their claims on Milan. Thus Italy was involved in all the horrors of the French expeditions,

which in their turn led to Spanish intervention and to the establishment of the rule of the Hapsburgs.

In considering the life of the last of the Visconti it is difficult not to feel that he has been harshly judged, and that he was not altogether unworthy of his dynasty. The loss of his great father when Filippo Maria was only a child was irremediable. He was handicapped from the very beginning. The bad character of his brother alienated the people of Milan, and when Filippo Maria succeeded him the prestige of the Visconti had suffered. Together with these disadvantages, Filippo had his own special difficulties to contend with. Bad health, poor nerves, and a morbid strain in his character all combined to force him apart from his fellows. He adopted the habits of a recluse, and living solitary in his great castle, without kith or kin, he became something of a legendary character even to the people he dwelt amongst. Yet the stories which have blackened the name of the Visconti are without foundation as far as he is concerned. He was not cruel, but, on the contrary, gentle and timid, fond of birds and animals. He was not a man of violent passions, and was most abstemious, his favourite diet being one of game, fine wheaten bread, and fruit. He always lived a most quiet life, amusing himself with chess and with studying astrology. He was apparently not well educated, for theologians who were asked to solve a question of conscience for him were instructed to reply in Italian, as the duke was not adept at Latin. He was religious, like the rest of his race, taking pleasure in performing his religious duties, generously endowing the Church, and showing himself an ardent worshipper of his favourite saints. He prayed much, and would rise two or three times in the night and stand by his window looking out at the stars and praying. When he went out or when he drove he would also pray quietly to himself "without ostentation." He was very superstitious, and would be terrified if he put his shoe on the wrong foot, an easier matter in those days

when the shape of the foot was not so much differentiated by the bootmaker. One bright thing in his life was his affection for Agnese del Maino. She remained with him during all his later years, and seems to have been a woman of simple and quiet tastes. After his death she lived with their daughter Bianca and helped to bring up her grandchildren, Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Il Moro. While she was with him Filippo Maria needed no other wife, and firmly refused to part with her in order to receive Maria of Savoy, whom, indeed, he declined to see and would not even allow in the same house with himself. Though reputed to be a coward, yet when he came to die Filippo showed much courage and calmness. He had for some time been quite blind, he was so fat as to be almost unable to move about, and he was also said to suffer from cancer. Yet he bore all his sufferings with patience, and to the end was resolved to fight with all his strength against his enemies. His life had become a burden to him, and hopeless as to the future, careless of what should happen when the Visconti were no longer rulers of Milan, he was thankful when the end came. He was buried in the Duomo without any state and with no mourners besides his servants.

A curious estimate of his character is given by Sabadino, who wrote thirty years after the duke died. Sabadino discussed the famous release of Alfonso, after Ponza, and further propounded the question as to whether Filippo Maria in the other world knew what was happening in this. Fra Battista, a great theologian of Mantua, replied that Filippo certainly did know. That if the duke were where we would suppose him to be (that is in a realm of bliss), "the valiant soul of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti would obtain consolation and joy over the good name he had left behind in this world. If, on the other hand, he were in torment, he would mourn and lament, saying, "*O misero me!* Of what use was it to perform such great deeds upon earth when now I am in such anguish?" "

As regards his political career, he may be regarded as more successful than was to be expected. He had enormous difficulties to contend with, and few things are harder than to recover territory which has been lost and has passed to others. Yet Filippo succeeded in winning back a great part of his father's State. At his succession Milan had lost all her outlying towns and was herself a prey to disorder ; at his death she was once more the capital of a great State and more wealthy than she had ever been. He had great foes to contend against. Venice had, since Giangaleazzo's death, grown enormously and had definitely adopted an aggressive land policy. Florence had passed under the control of the Medici and started on the most prosperous and powerful phase of her career. The Papacy too had acquired fresh vigour and become a very different institution from what she had been in Avignon or schismatic days. In this changed Italy, Filippo Maria held his own. He was feared and respected for his diplomacy and his resourcefulness. Milan was a power to be reckoned with, and that in itself speaks for him.

In the interest of his career, and the varied events which it witnessed, he provides no unfitting conclusion to his strange and gifted line. He was intimately connected with Carmagnola and with Francesco Sforza. He knew personally all the famous soldiers of the day. The fortunes of his State were affected by the rise of Cosimo dei Medici, whose family was to eclipse by its splendour that of all other Italian houses. He met, as captor and host, Alfonso of Naples, one of the most daring and adventurous spirits of the fifteenth century. All these personalities must have been completely alien to Filippo Maria. He was not a soldier, or adventurous ; he loved quiet and retirement. His lot was cast in an age when apparently only the strong and fierce could survive, and yet without any of the qualifications which might have been thought essential, Filippo Maria lived out his days and died Duke of a Milan which formed one of the fairest States of Italy.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE VISCONTI

Governing bodies—Legislation—Taxation—Justice—The *podestà*—Crime and punishments—Game laws—Classes—The Court—Drama—System of posts—Trade—Military system—Buildings—Sport—Food and clothes—Valentina's trousseau—Life at Pavia—The Castello of Pavia.

IT is possible to reconstruct in the imagination the outward aspect of the Milan of the Visconti. Then as now the flat plain stretched in all directions around the city, with green pastures divided by the many streams and canals which even then existed. We know, for instance, that Giangaleazzo built the great Naviglio which connected Pavia with Milan, together with other canals running to Binasco and Abbiategrasso, and diverted the waters of the Carona to fertilize the great park of Pavia. An old document tells us that the Convent of White Nuns were forbidden to divert the water from the public waterway of Olona, except at fixed hours, in order that the mills should not suffer. From this well-ordered fertility rose the red city walls, built by Azzo, of which one gateway still remains, spanning the modern street, and with traces of the old moat near by. Where the great Castello of the Sforzas now stands was the Castello di Porta Giovia built by Giangaleazzo in the same beautiful red brick which was used all over Lombardy. At Verona the Castello Vecchio of the Scala, with its lovely bridge across the Adige, can still show us what the Visconti castle was like; for the style of building was much the same all over Lombardy, the familiar "forked" castellated battlements, called *merlato*, from their supposed resemblance to a blackbird's open beak, appear at Verona, at Milan and Pavia, in the castles and along the walls, and on the public buildings. Time

has mellowed the brick until it is a deep rose, but it must always have been lovely, and under the brilliant sun does away with the feeling of oppression and gloom which the sight of great fortresses sometimes brings. Indeed, looking at the Castello of Verona, or that of the Sforza at Milan, the suggestion is far stronger of the gaiety and colour of life in old Milan. The Visconti loved splendour; their wedding feasts and pageantry were famous all over Europe. They are to be imagined in the bright-coloured velvet clothes, feasting in the open courts of their deep-rose palaces, or riding out through their parks or along the streets of their city. Those streets had been paved in stone, and were therefore far cleaner and drier than those of mediaeval England. The spires and towers of the churches, many of which were also the work of the Visconti, rose into the sky on every hand. Milan was beautiful as well as rich and prosperous.

The government of the great city lay actually in the hands of the prince. Theoretically, however, the great Council of Nine Hundred was the source of authority. It was this body which met for the formal election of the prince, and after the creation of the hereditary Duchy, the Nine Hundred elected the syndics, who took the oath of fealty. The edicts of the duke formed the legislation, and the consent or ratification of the Nine Hundred was neither asked nor required. Taxation was raised according to the ruler's will, though it is possible that an entirely new tax might have had to have some sanction on the part of the council. The council itself ceased to be an elected body in 1396, and was nominated by the duke with the advice of the Vicar and the Twelve. The practical, everyday administration was carried on through the Vicar and Twelve of the Provisioning. These were chosen two from each gate and changed every two months. The Vicar was more permanent, and must therefore have acquired more authority. Originally the Twelve were responsible for provisioning the city, supervising the magistrates, and receiving the

customs and dues ; and in Giangaleazzo's reign they continued to exercise their functions under the control of the duke. The *podestà* was likewise appointed by the ruling prince ; he held office nominally for six months, but his appointment was usually renewed and lasted for two years or more. His functions and methods will be more fully discussed in connexion with the judicature.

Apart from the old municipal authorities there gradually grew up the princely administration. Every ruler naturally acquires a council, but under the Visconti its development was slow, owing perhaps to the personal character and ability of the family. Matteo had councillors, six of whom were formed into a committee, but after him this lapsed.

Bernabò consulted but few of his administrators, and does not seem to have taken advice when he asked for it. After the creation of the Duchy, however, the whole position of the Visconti became more clearly defined. The Council appears divided into two sections—one for affairs of State and one for judicial matters. They exercised authority over the whole State, not over Milan alone, which still retained its Council of Twelve, and the *Consiglio Minore* and the *Consules placetum*. In these "royal councils" we have the instrument of rule over the outside communes, which retained their local government quite distinct from that of Milan. The various Lombard, Tuscan, Romagnol communes, which were united under the Visconti, had no connexion with each other. Each kept their own local institutions and local bodies, but these decreased in importance as compared with the small groups formed of the prince's representatives. Each town had a constitution, which varied according to the way in which it had been acquired ; Bologna for instance, which had been conquered, had a less democratic constitution than Siena, which had voluntarily come under the Visconti, and had bargained for a good measure of independence. Every town, in accordance

with the universal practice, had its *podestà*, who was always a native of some other city and who was appointed by the prince. This official must have proved very useful as heading the band of ducal administration. Frequently too the communes had their Twelve of Provisions, and to this extent conformed to the Milanese type.

The edicts of the prince had the force of laws directly they were published in any town in his dominions. Statutes made by nobles and corporations were declared illegal unless they had been regularized by receiving the assent of the prince. Sometimes the ducal edicts only applied to a few special towns, but in other cases they were meant to cover the whole State. Thus Giangaleazzo published a general edict relating to military service and the recruiting for the militia, and another which directed the various *podestàs* to send him in lists of persons suitable to hold office. In general the local posts, such as magistrates, were filled by local men. The "vicars" however were often foreigners, and so were many of the ducal ministers, noteworthy examples being Pepoli of Bologna, minister to Giovanni, and Spinelli, a Neapolitan, the adviser of Giangaleazzo.

As financiers the Visconti showed great ability. They quite clearly grasped several of the most important canons of taxation, and probably some of the popularity of their rule may be traced to this. Thus they endeavoured to broaden the basis of taxation, abolishing exemptions and spreading the burden over as many as possible, thus lightening its weight. Much information can be obtained from the documents relating to Valentina's dowry. Giangaleazzo took a personal interest in this matter, and many of the letters are issued from his Court at Pavia and signed with his confidential seal. The sum required was very large—450,000 florins—but payment was spread over more than two years. Each commune was notified as to the sum it had to raise; the *podestà* and heads of the commune met and agreed to this, but it was left to assess and collect the

quota according to its own methods. This method was adopted in the case of the dowry, because it was called a subsidy, or donation. In the case of the ordinary taxes the prince imposed them without the formula of consent. The ducal officials had to contribute a fixed proportion of their salaries, which amounted to four months' pay out of thirty-two months, or about 12.5 per cent of their incomes. This has been considered as forming part of Giangaleazzo's efforts at national economy. He was during these years (1387-1389) engaged in the wars with Verona and Padua. The exchequer felt the strain, and Giangaleazzo, like the modern "economy committee," thought that the civil service might well afford a reduction in their salaries. Moreover, this part of the tax was easily collected, since the exchequer simply kept the part of the salaries decided upon, another instance of anticipating the methods of the modern Inland Revenue. No exemptions were allowed to either nobles or clergy or monastic bodies; this was in accordance with Visconti principles. Galeazzo had abolished all exemptions, but this proved too far-reaching, and Giangaleazzo improved upon these wholesale methods. He laid down the principle that "all should bear their share," and ordered an investigation into exemptions: in 1387 that, in cases which depended solely on custom, and in those where no definite document or title-deed could be produced, the exemption should be cancelled. The next year an examination was ordered of all deeds purporting to grant exemption, a proceeding which reminds us of the *Quo Warranto* of Edward I. In the final assessments for the dowry in 1389 many immunities were abolished so as to help the general body of taxpayers. The duke himself gave up the exemption from the tax on wine for his own household and his wife's. Finding that in some instances the urban communes were imposing too heavy a share of the tax upon the rural areas, the duke forbade this, and also stopped an attempt on the part of Reggio to make

the newly conquered territory of Carrara contribute. One difficulty arose in the shape of the dispute as to the amount due where an individual owned property in several places. It was decided that in such cases the tax must be paid on each property. The communes adopted various methods of raising the money : some alienated land, others exacted fines instead of the usual penalties for crimes, most of them paid up within the required time, though some received fierce and threatening letters, which apparently they calmly disregarded. Reggio was one of the last to pay, and the duke in 1388 wrote a polite and friendly letter, saying, " I have waited as long as I could and would have given you a fresh respite, but it is impossible. I find myself at the point where I myself must pay up [*sborsare*]." The subsidy was really collected twice, for Giangaleazzo spent the first instalment on his wars against Verona and Padua. Apparently he did not wish to incur undue unpopularity by demanding separate subsidies for these campaigns, so appropriated the dowry money and asked for more on that account. Though the dowry has been denounced as an unjust and exorbitant levy, in reality it was not oppressive as compared with former taxation. Reggio, under Bernabò's rule, had paid a contribution of 38,400 florins in thirty-two months ; under Giangaleazzo she paid 16,400 in the same period, and this covered her quota for the dowry and wars. She had paid to Bernabò 1,200 a month ; to Giangaleazzo she only paid 400, and in addition, as has been seen, the new tax was more equitably assessed.

Apart from extraordinary subsidies the usual taxes were the *gabelle* on salt, the *citimo* or income and property tax, and the duties on wine, flour, flax, and cattle. The total amount raised in Giangaleazzo's time was reckoned as 1,200,000 ducats. This was fairly heavy, and we find Salutati blaming Petrarch for attending the wedding of Violante, on the score that while the rulers feasted the poor were ground down by the taxes. Still the imposition of

far heavier taxes would have been outweighed by the blessings of civil peace and the suppression of the hateful faction fights. The extraordinary growth of trade and the immense prosperity of the State show that it was not too heavily burdened.

Under Filippo Maria we find that both real and movable property was taxed, and commissions of valuation were supposed to sit every five years. In 1416 a new valuation was made. The method was as follows: Five *squadre*, each composed of six "wise men," assessed every person in Milan. Each *squadro* went over the whole ground independently. Then the estimates were compared by ducal commissioners, and the mean taken between the highest and the lowest estimate. In 1442 we find mention of a special tax levied to remedy the evils of billeting troops. All citizens were to contribute to this tax and the proceeds went to pay for the billets. The people of Milan were at this time so prosperous that they supplemented the tax by voluntary offerings.

The administration of justice has been excellently portrayed for us in the register of sentences pronounced by the *podestà* in the years from 1385 to 1429. These registers have survived, and enable us to see what crimes were punished in mediaeval Milan, and what penalties were actually imposed. The law itself is sometimes harsher than its administrators, and even where a severe sentence was passed we find that the criminal could evade it. The chief judicial officer was of course the *podestà*. He was nominated by the prince for a period of six months, and this was in practice extended to one or two years. He was always a "foreigner," that is, someone from another city or town, the idea being to ensure greater impartiality. He sat "on the accustomed bench of the Arengo in the new loggia of the Osii," assisted by his "judges." He received a good salary—4,000 *lire di terzoli*, equivalent to 10,000 modern lire. He had beneath him a Vicar, who acted as

his deputy on occasion, and six judges, two for criminal cases, three for civil, one for finance, each having his own symbol—a lion, or a cock, or a horse. In 1385 Giangaleazzo, when he reorganized the official system, appointed one more judge, to deal with criminal cases in the rural area. In addition, he was assisted by six notaries or secretaries. At the end of his period of office six syndics were appointed by the prince, who held a session and proclaimed publicly that anyone with complaints against the *podestà* during his administration should come forward within five days. That this proceeding was not a mere formality is shown by the fact that after Aronne d'Auria had completed his term of office complaints poured in.

The jurisdiction of the *podestà* and his court extended over the whole city and a radius of five kilometres, determined by the edict of 1385, and the four *contadi rurali* of Martesana, Bazana, Seprio, and Bulgaria. The judges sat in different wards of the city, but were not allocated to any special area. They tried civil and criminal cases. Where in a civil case the financial value was for less than fifty lire the litigants could be tried either by the Vicar or *Capitani*; over fifty lire the case had to go before the *podestà*. The notaries were often corrupt, and in 1425 an appeal was made from the four rural areas, who stated that the notaries would not give the names of accusers, invented prohibitions, and promised accused persons that on payment of twenty soldi the case against them should be dropped. In answer to this the duke decreed that all accusations must bear the name of the accuser and specify the charge.

By an edict of 1396 it was laid down that the *anziani* of each parish and the *consoli* of the rural areas must announce to the *podestà* all crimes committed within their boundaries. Criminal cases must be tried within fifteen days of arrest, but this was a "counsel of perfection" and cases often dragged on for years. Sometimes this was in the interest of the accused, as in the case of a woman accused of murder-

ing her husband in 1376, who was not tried until 1385, whose sentence was even then not carried out, and she was finally released in 1395. The accused could be defended by lawyers, though, curiously enough, the rural districts complained that they had great difficulty in getting good notaries. There was no appeal from the Court, but the prince had power to remit any sentence. Confession mitigated the penalty, and "contumacy" increased it.

The more common crimes were those of assault, wounding, "uproar," and theft. Punishment took the form of a tariff of fines. "Wounding" was punished according to the instrument used. Thus if the injury was inflicted by a domestic utensil, the fine was small; if by an outdoor implement or tool, the fine was heavier; if by some weapon, heavier still, and in the last case a further fine might be imposed, for the carrying of arms was prohibited. False witness and perjury were very severely dealt with. If an accusation was brought by the injured party, and a conviction was obtained, the plaintiff got half the fine; the other half went to the Commune. If the charge was brought by the *anziani* the whole went to the commune. If the accusation failed the plaintiff had to pay the fine; but in the case of accusations brought by the *anziani* no forfeit was paid for an unproven accusation. Thus one Master Primo of Turate accused Master Antonio di Solaro of building a wall before his house contrary to regulation; he failed to prove his case and was fined ten lire. Murder was punished by death. Theft with violence was punished by the gallows, and "secret theft" by branding and scourging. Larceny was punished by fines, and sometimes by amputation of a foot. Forgery was punished by amputation of the right hand, and in very serious cases by burying alive. False witness brought about the loss of the tongue and a hand, the commune in this case paying the cost of medical treatment. If a criminal were rich enough he might commute this penalty by paying the enormous fine

of 96,000 lire. Threats, blows, and stone-throwing were all atoned for by fines. Heresy and witchcraft involved death on the wheel. Adultery was punished by death by decapitation, and a man who lived on his wife's earnings as a prostitute was hanged. Persons who connived at the escape of a criminal received the same sentence as the criminal. All penalties were increased where the offended person was an official, and in the case of crimes committed by night a heavier scale was also enforced. Prostitutes paid on a lower scale, "because of their profession." One crime might involve many penalties, as, for instance, when a gang of men broke into a hospital, murdered an official, and made off with some money; when caught and convicted, the fines imposed on one of the subordinates were, "For breaking into a hospital, 2,000 lire; for assault on porter, 200; for aid to aggressors, 200 lire; for aid to homicide, 1,000 lire; for aid to wounded, 50 lire, &c." Young persons under fourteen were always acquitted. Indeed, many over that age could obtain acquittal in one way or another; the most usual was for the criminal to come to terms with his accuser, and pay a fine, in return for which he obtained an "instrument of peace." At certain seasons—Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun—the duke sent letters of mercy to the prisons of Malastalla and San Satiro, and persons who had not been able to pay their fines were then released. If fines were not paid, goods were sequestered. Heavy penalties were imposed if violence was offered to the persons coming to sequesterate, but in spite of this we find that the officials were usually fallen upon by the friends and neighbours of the offender when they went to discharge their duty. In the list of cases given in the register we find that out of 2,947 accused, 2,366 were found guilty; 581 were acquitted. The crimes are not very violent, there is only one case of premeditated murder, where a woman is accused of poisoning her husband; many thefts and assaults, but only twenty of assaults with

arms. There are no riots or civil faction fights, a marvellous record if we compare it with such cities as Perugia or Bologna. A list of terms of abuse is given, some of which, such as "wild-ass," "bandit," "miser," sound harmless enough to our ears.

The game laws of Bernabò are well known for their severity, but indeed Bernabò was an extremely ardent believer in law and order. His ruthlessness had marked results, for Milan really did become a safer place under his regime. His brother Galeazzo drew up a list of poaching fines, which continued under his son and grandson. For poaching a doe the fine was 100 lire, for a roebuck, 50 ; for a hare, 25 ; for a pheasant, 10 ; for a partridge, 5 ; for a quail, 2. If the offence was repeated, the poacher would lose his hand or his foot. Giangaleazzo, while milder in temper than Bernabò, still enforced his laws with severity and acted on very thorough-going principles of fitting the punishment to the crime. Thus to walk abroad by night was forbidden, save to doctors and the official guardians of the peace, and any man who broke this law was punished by the loss of his foot—an effective check to such peregrinations. The use of the provoking terms "Guelf" and "Ghibelline" was forbidden, and any offender in this respect was silenced by the loss of his tongue. One of the Visconti's most up-to-date ideas was a strong belief in isolation of infectious diseases, and regulations were made on this point. It is quite in keeping, therefore, to find that when the head of a hospital was found to have contracted leprosy his carelessness was punished by death, though in this case public opinion regarded the penalty as too severe.

The figures collected from the *podestà's* register show that serious crime was not as common as might be expected. For the period covered they are as given on page 184.

The famous statute of Giangaleazzo, issued in 1396, revised the existing legal system, and it remained in that form until 1498, when it was reformed by Il Moro. The

Crime	No. of Accused	Contumacious	Acquitted	Sentenced to Death	Executed
Homicide	68	55	33	53	2
Theft	59	18	20	11	7
False witness ...	26	17	3	1	1
Violence	974	469	380	—	—
Abuse	404	201	79	—	—
Heresy	3	—	—	3	3
Blasphemy ..	5	2	—	—	—
Immorality ..	8	5	1	3	—
Damage	88	34	37	—	—
Sequestration ..	1,187	1,167	16	—	—
Various	124	61	12	—	—
High Treason ..	1	1	—	—	—
TOTAL	2,947	2,030	581	71	13

statute of Giangaleazzo was divided into six parts—the criminal code, the civil code, weights and measures and food regulations, customs and dues, the mercantile code, and the wool merchants' code. It embodied, of course, the precepts of Roman law, together with the various decrees issued since the days of Matteo.

The apparent ease with which the Visconti kept the nobles in check is surprising. Once the Torriani had been overwhelmed, we hear of no further serious trouble. Coming from the nobility themselves, the Visconti always emphasized their own superiority. They allowed the nobles to assist in the governing of some of the subject cities, but never made any appointment for more than one year. They forbade the building of private castles, and whittled away the remnants of feudal jurisdiction. Giangaleazzo got

himself made *podestà* of noble fiefs, and thus suppressed private jurisdiction. In the creation of the Duchy he saw to it that full power was given as over-lord of any fiefs holding from the Empire. Finally, the nobles' immunity from taxation was abolished, and one of the most fatal privileges thus extinguished. Family faction fights were prohibited, and even duels, and these measures met with wonderful success.

Instead of their former privileges, the nobles received the unsubstantial advantages of Court life. Matteo had surrounded himself with nobles and employed their sons as pages. Azzo and even Archbishop Giovanni continued the system, Giovanni in particular living in great state. Galeazzo lived in comparative retirement at Pavia, while Bernabò specialized in putting down the oppression of the poor by the nobles, and so was not likely to attract them to his Court. Under Giangaleazzo an era of great splendour set in. The feasts, the welcomes to royal guests, the triumphs for victories, all show us the typical society which forms round a successful and magnificent ruler.

The Visconti Court was indeed that of a prince, equal to those of the sovereigns of France and England. Giangaleazzo had his jester, a dwarf called Tricano, who for unknown reasons ran away and sought refuge in Mantua. The duke wrote to the marquis begging that he would send Tricano back, tied ignominiously to the back of an ass. Cards were one of the favourite relaxations of Filippo Maria, who when entertaining the two captive princes of Navarre and Aragon lost to them in one game 1,500 *monete d'oro*. Draughts and chess were also played, and we hear in 1363, when Galeazzo II was attacked suddenly by Montferrat, that the Court was taken unawares, the nobles being occupied with games of chess.

The prince had his own trumpeters, receiving good salaries and vieing with those of the commune, "who made a terrible clangour so that no other city heard the like"

(Fiamma). The trumpets should have given out musical tones, for they were of silver, and were gaily ornamented with coloured pendants. Many of the musicians were attached to the Court ; we are told of players upon the harp, the cither, the lute, and the pipe. Sigismondo Malatesta wrote of the "*Arpe sonate, citere e laute e pipari e trombetti.*"

There were also drums, viols, and many singers. The organ had long been familiar to Lombardy ; Dante speaks of its "sweet harmony," and when the Duomo was built an organ was set up within its walls.

The life of Milanese citizens was enlivened in many ways. The horse races were an old-established institution, common to many towns. Azzo had started the Lady-Day races in Milan in 1339, giving a prize of a length of red velvet. Giangaleazzo in the same way founded the Michaelmas meeting.

Drama also was known. When processions were arranged as, for instance, that of the "Three Kings," from San Eustorgio to the Duomo, a mystery play would be performed by the participants. After the founding of the new Duomo under Giangaleazzo various methods were adopted for raising funds. The different "gates" of the city collected money and took it annually to the Duomo and these presentations were made the occasion of dramatic performances. Usually they were held in the Piazza del Duomo or in the Arengo. On December 22, 1389, a representation of "Jason and Medea" was given before the Porta Vercellina. Amongst the properties mentioned were a lion with a gilt head, a silver statue, a shield with a gilt lion, a painted cloth depicting water, ships, and fish. The robes of Jason were *lini vermezzi*, and a wooden house was erected. In August, 1423, a representation was given by the Porta Ticinese of the seven planets, with the moon and the sun. Eight days later the Porta Comasina gave one showing the defeat of Armagnac in 1391 and his captive army entering Alessandria. On the 22nd of the same month the Porta Nuova enacted Æneas leaving Troy and

going to Carthage; and last, the Porta Romana gave what sounds an inferior entertainment, consisting simply of a procession of 182 carriages. These representations were arranged by good architects and painters, and great pains were taken over them.

Many conveniences that we are accustomed to think peculiarly modern were known to the Milanese. The Visconti had an elaborate system of posts, which was sometimes available for individuals. Thus, letters could be sent express "by day and night," a method used in cases of urgency. Giangaleazzo used this when sending to Reggio for cooks to help with Valentina's wedding banquet. For more ordinary purposes there was the slower post, when letters were forwarded only in the daytime. Every letter sent or received had to be stamped at the post office, but the postmaster was forbidden to read them except in suspected cases. The post relays provided a change of horses at stated places, and were largely used by traders. In 1388 no less than one hundred post horses were paid for by the duke. After 1425 there was a complete chain throughout the Milanese, which later developed across the Alps.

Hotels had to register their guests and notify the official registrar every night of the persons staying in the inns. Passports were issued to travellers, and special papers were made out for officials, such as the Deputies of the Fabrica in 1410, enabling them to travel on their business with special facilities. Provision was made for lunatics, who, if dangerous, were put under control and cared for by the State. Notaries had to use government stamps on specified documents. Giangaleazzo had systematized the public debt. In 1398 he issued an edict that all who lent him money should have a guarantee of repayment within a fixed period and receive interest at ten per cent. These "shares" were transferable and could be bequeathed or mortgaged. Letters of credit were also introduced, and a Milanese citizen could pay money in at Milan to be drawn

on a draft at some distant city. In 1325 we hear of a *cambiale*, that is, a draft, drawn on Milan and payable in Lucca at five months. The Lombards were always famous bankers, as the "Lombard Streets" of Paris, Zurich, Moscow, and London still attest. They were also great traders, having their foreign houses in all the chief cities of Europe. The Borromei for instance were great woollen merchants, with branches in London and Bruges.

This brings us to the consideration of trade under the Visconti. Milan was one of the chief commercial cities of the world. The Visconti had improved communications and built fleets of ships to carry their goods on the wonderful system of canals. Thus, for the traffic between Pavia and Venice large galleys, capable of holding 500 men, were built. Venice was the chief customer, as the debate in the Signoria before the outbreak of war with Giangaleazzo shows. Tommaso Mocenigo then expatiated on the great value of the trade between the cities. Cloth and woollens, cotton, silks, cloth of gold, sugar, soap, pepper, drugs, all sorts of groceries and spices, are enumerated. Many of the goods thus obtained were re-exported to other parts of Europe. The merchants were organized into a *universitas mercatorum*, which obtained from the prince safe-conducts, rebates in customs, and the opening of the Alpine passes. The chief route lay across the Simplon; but in 1314 we find application being made for permission to use the St. Gothard. After the Austrian marriages of Bernabò's daughters trade increased and Milanese goods went to Constance, Lucerne, Basel, Geneva, Nuremberg, Zurich, Ulm, and the Black Forest. Among the chief merchant houses were the Alzate, who sent coarse woollens to Germany; the Morosini, who had a branch in Basel; the Busti, who had a branch in Cologne, still commemorated by the "Mailan."

In 1346 a great mercantile edict was issued which regulated trade, lowered customs, and forbade the seizure of

goods except in the case of debtors. Permits were given to all merchants entering the Milanese, and had to be given up on departure. Later, Filippo Maria gave special concessions to German traders. The tariff was lowered in their favour, and they were given a dispensation from the "perforation," of their bundles, which were to be opened and re-done up at the expense of the customs if they contained nothing dutiable. Genoa the Visconti wished to make the rival of Venice, and they declared communication with her to be free. In 1472 an attempt was made to take all duties off bread, wine, and meat, but this failed. The great foreign merchant houses obtained trading permits, available for two or three years, amongst these being the Fuggers of Augsburg, the Giengere of Ulm, the Welser, the Ravensburg companies, and the firm of Irma of Basel, which introduced rice into Lombardy. In addition they got letters enabling them to take proceedings against creditors in Milan, and sixteen of these permits are still preserved. Like all mediaeval States, Milan had her protective system. There were duties on the fine woollens imported from England, and indeed the import of the finest cloth was forbidden, but none the less a good deal of trade in these articles was done by the House of Segazoni of Como, the centre for woollen goods. By 1442 the manufacture of silk had grown to very large proportions, and no less than 15,000 operatives were employed in it. All exported silk was examined by government so that a high standard was maintained. Nuremberg sent to Milan bronze and metal goods, belts, keys, saucepans, bits, metal dishes, etc. In return she took fustians and cottons and saffron. Milanese armour of course went all over Europe, and so did her famous horses. The volume of trade with Germany was so great that in 1498 a special German-Italian vocabulary was issued for the convenience of traders.

Weights and measures had been revised in Milan in 1228, and were subject to government regulation. One peculiar

measure was the *patronus*, a salt measure, employed only in Milan. Venice, of course, was the great exporter of salt, and her measure was larger than the *patronus*. The exact weight of the *patronus* is not known, but it was of very ancient origin, and is said to have been in use in the eleventh century^f. The *gabelle*, or tax on salt, was a monopoly of the Visconti, and a very valuable one. Bernabò in 1370 received an amount equivalent to one-half of the total sales. Venice sent her supplies to Bergamo, the *moggio* of Venice being equal to 1,200 lb. of Bergamo. It was imported in measure of capacity, but sold in Bergamo by weight, and Bernabò was constantly corresponding with his officials there in order to ensure obtaining his dues.

Compulsory military service had been replaced by the use of mercenaries—a system which in some ways was a relief to the citizens and was welcomed by them, since it enabled men to carry on their trade or business undisturbed by any call to arms. Troops were billeted in time of war, but under careful regulations. For instance, the men were to be given beds and food, and supplied with wood for heating, but if enough was not supplied the men might go and cut it for themselves.

Bernabò, who seems to have distrusted the use of mercenaries, set up a body of professional soldiers of his own. He formed a picked troop of cavalry, who were drawn from noble families and who accompanied the prince on his expeditions. Then he went on to create what is evidently a militia. In 1369 we find him sending to the *podestà* and *capitano* of Bergamo ordering them to enrol nobles and citizens in his corps. Similar orders were sent to Brescia, Cremona, Lodi, and Valcamonica, and the contingent were all to meet at Parma on July 7, 1370. Bergamo, we are told, sent twenty-four, with horses and grooms. A register was to be drawn up of all youths, tall and of good appearance, who wished to be enrolled. They were to be of good social position, and eventually only the sons of nobles were

accepted. The pay at first was eight florins a month ; but when it was found that the list of applicants was a large one, this was reduced to four florins. Each man was to have two horses in peace and three in war. A bonus of fifty florins was paid in advance. One Giovanni Sozzone of Bergamo, " having bought a horse, large and brown, for four florins," had another horse as well, an " ash-coloured and white colt " ; he bought his third one later on, and, together with his groom, duly joined Bernabò at Parma, having been given a safe-conduct and a free pass through the tolls. The corps had a uniform consisting of a coat of red cloth, with silver embroidery, a red cloak embroidered at the collar, a red cap with silver thread embroidery in a lattice pattern, the whole costing ten florins. Each man had to carry a bag or knapsack, which cost two florins. Such a corps, consisting solely of cavalry, could not, of course, take the place of a mercenary army ; it was in reality a guard for the person of the prince, and its formation marks the growth of princely power. Bernabò used these troops in his contest with the Church, an engagement being fought at Gaiano in 1372 ; and we hear of them again in the next year at Bergamo, when Ambrogio, one of Bernabò's sons, was killed.

An excellent illustration of orderly government is given in the regulations issued by Giovanni del Torgio, " Conservator of the Health of Milan and the Duchy," in dealing with an outbreak of plague in 1447. He laid down that all persons who within forty days had been in contact with infection were to notify the fact. Any case of the disease was to be notified in writing to the head of the parish, and by him to the office of public health. All suspected cases were to be similarly reported. All burials were to have the sanction of the conservator. No doctor or barber, or *empirico*, was to attend any case without notifying the health office in writing, and no medicines and drugs used as remedies for plague were to be supplied without notification. Milan

had paved streets and a good water supply, which, together with her colder climate, made her a healthier city than most.

The Visconti were great builders, and their many works must have given constant employment to a great number of people. Matteo has left the beautiful Loggia of the Osii, which still preserves for us a tiny fragment of old Milan. The little square called the Piazza dei Mercanti, near the Piazza del Duomo, with its ceaseless roar of modern traffic, is still peaceful and quiet. Matteo's façade, with its rows of emblazoned shields and its little balcony, looks down on to the court. Opposite is the Palazzo della Città, with its ancient tower and arcades. Here also is the Palazzo della Ragione, with its little statue of the Podestà Oldrado da Tresseno, who, as the inscription says, destroyed the heretical sect of the Cathari. The only other fragment of mediaeval Milan which remains, apart from the churches, are the two gateways—the old Porta Nuova, at the end of the Via Manzoni, built in 1171, and the Porta Ticinese, built by Azzo Visconti when he rebuilt the city walls. Yet the Visconti covered the State with the monuments of their activities. Azzo's wonderful bridge still stands at Lecco, Bernabò's castle survives at Trezzo, and the bridge with its single span which took six years to build. Other bridges were built by him at Pandino and Cusago, and castles at Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, Crema, Pontremoli, and Lodi. Luchino's bridge over the Ticino at Vigevano has gone; it was an extremely fine one, so wide that three carts could pass over it abreast. Pavia owed all its greatness to the Visconti. They founded the famous university and made it the glory of north-west Italy. They rebuilt the walls and reconstructed some of the streets, paying compensation to persons whose houses were destroyed in the process. Above all, they built the Castello, which still raises its vast red walls from the now empty moat. In its great days this castle was, as Petrarch says, one of the finest in Europe. The plan and style were very simple, consisting of a square,

each side being 142 metres in length, with square towers at each corner. The River Carona was diverted to form a moat all round, and on each side was a gate, with a drawbridge. The sides of the Castello are three stories high, the towers five. On the outside the bottom floor has only loop-holes, but the two floors above had large windows with columns dividing them, showing that fortification was not the chief essential and that the Visconti could build a palace with plenty of light and air. Inside was the great court, and round it ran a beautiful loggia with pillars of marble and an open gallery above. On each floor there were forty rooms, all adorned with frescoes, showing hunting scenes or stories from history. Each of the towers had its own purpose : one contained the far-famed library, another the wonderful clock made by Giovanni Dondi, which told the time and the day and the planets and the constellations ; another was the arsenal, and in the fourth was the great hall of mirrors, so called because its ceiling was made of coloured glass, painted very delicately with Cupids and flowers and beasts. The tracery of the windows was of geometrical patterns, and so was the cornice running along above the first-floor windows. The arches of the loggia, and of the gallery above, had carved capitals, rather plain, with foliage of the *acanthus*. The walls and towers were crowned with the *merlato*, or blackbird crenellations, which were both beautiful and useful for defence. From the windows was a wide view over the plain across the River Po, and away to the Apennines and even to the distant line of the Alps.

Their religious foundations are too numerous to be cited. Though every member of the family warred against the Papacy, yet all were generous to the Church. They built chapels and endowed churches, and set up their splendid tombs in their favourite foundations. Giangaleazzo, in addition to many chapels and chantries in Milan, built three churches at Verona, two at Pavia, and one at Rome, dedicated to the Virgin in thanksgiving for his sons. Filippo

Maria built six chapels at Monza, founded Sta Maria near San Celso, with five chapels, the oratorio of Sta Annunziata, six chapels in Cremona, and others in Sta Maria in Abbiate. The greatest glories of the House are, of course, the two masterpieces patronized by Giangaleazzo—the Certosa of Pavia and the Duomo of Milan. Of their artistic importance this is not the place to speak, but the influence of the Duomo on civic life was very great. The expense of such a vast undertaking was shared by the people, and, as has been seen, the different wards organized collections and arranged festivals to raise funds. At Christmas the banners and standards of the city were carried in procession to the Duomo, and gifts were presented before the altar. The work, which was to be carried on for centuries, was administered by a regular body. There were difficulties in the way of getting materials, and in 1388 we hear that at the quarries on Lake Maggiore no more granite blocks would be sent unless payment was made in advance. The task of building soon passed from the northern architects whom Giangaleazzo wished to employ to local men, the best of whom were the stone-workers from Campione. The records of the engineers and builders employed still exist. From time to time Giangaleazzo would call in foreign experts to advise, but the local men always argued violently against such ideas, and invariably succeeded in carrying the day and going on with their own plans. With the vast funds at his disposal, with the help of the citizens, and even with that of the Pope, who in 1390 allowed one-half of the offerings of the faithful in Milan to go to the Duomo, the work was carried on quickly. By the time that the last of the Visconti died the main part was finished—aisles, transepts, and all the vast rows of great pillars rising to the far-distant roof. Only the façade and cupola really remained to be completed, and they were destined to wait until Napoleon should try to put the finishing touches to the work of the early rulers of Milan.

Besides their interest in building and in the endowment of learning the Visconti had other sources of recreation. All the family were great sportsmen and lovers of hunting. Bernabò, of course, made himself notorious by his passion for sport and the excesses in which it involved him. He hunted wild boars at Pandino and went hawking for pheasant and partridges. He bought Norwegian goshawks and went out with them morning and evening. The hunting dogs of the Gonzagas were famous, and the Visconti would exchange some of their beautiful Milanese horses for them. Galeazzo encouraged the breeding of deer, and introduced them into the country round Reggio. He also sent a present of falcons to the "King of Babylon," asking Venice in 1367 for a passport for the man entrusted with the gift. Special privileges were given to the keepers of the prince's kennels and to the men on whom the dogs were billeted, as, for instance, free maintenance and travelling expenses when engaged in taking the dogs about the country. Bird-catchers too were given special privileges in the cities where they dwelt. At Pavia Galeazzo had his famous park, which stretched for acres round the palace, and where game of all sorts abounded. In that park, which was enclosed by a stone wall, fences prevented the animals from injuring valuable shrubberies, and sections were divided off for different purposes, such as a fishery and a rabbit warren. Galeazzo and Giangaleazzo and Filippo Maria all made this their favourite hunting-ground, and the sport he enjoyed there with his friend Lionello d'Este was Filippo Maria's greatest pleasure until he grew too fat to mount his horse.

The accounts of the great feasts show what an immense amount of game was consumed by the Court, and the great variety. Wild boar, roasted stag, leverets, quail, partridge, pheasant, duck, heron, roebuck, are amongst the dishes mentioned. The food of the period indeed sounds good. Besides all the wild life which ended at the Visconti table,

there were plentiful supplies of domestic fare : beef, both roasted and in pasties and in galantine, sucking pig, roast pork, roast calf, fat capons, chicken with garlic, roast kid, pullets and peacocks and rabbit were the meat courses. Fish was more plentiful, at banquets, at any rate, than might have been suspected. We hear of sturgeon, trout, roasted carp, eel pasty, fish from Como, pike, fish cooked with lemon sauce, and roasted tench. Vegetables are not often heard of, though sauces were made of garlic, and we hear of beans and greens. Cheese and junkets and sweetmeats came at the end, with fruit, which usually took the form of cherries. On Valentina's wedding journey we find charges for tarts and beignets amongst the sweets.

The poorer classes probably fared pretty well, for the herds of cattle would give ample supplies of milk, butter, and cheese, and we know they eat chestnuts and beans and fruit.

The clothes of the period must have been very gay and beautiful. The rich wore velvets and brocades and fine woollens. Both men and women wore little ruffs or collars of fine muslin or lace, and we are told Bussolari, when the "vanities" were given up, made a special point of demanding these ruffles. Hair was curled and waved by means of hot irons. Petrarch, writing to his brother, says, "What shall I say of the business of our hair-dressing and the curling irons? How often did we inflict cruel torture with our own hands! What nocturnal scars did we see in the mirror in the morning, burned across our foreheads so that we who wished to show off our hair were obliged to cover our faces." In the Visconti fresco at Pavia the young men's hair is in regular, shining waves, curling into the neck, and their robes are equally beautiful. Giangaleazzo's purple and gold and black brocade is relieved by muslin frills; while Gabriele has a specially lovely shot-green brocade, trimmed with ermine and with a gold and scarlet vest; and Giovanni Maria has the viper crest brocaded as

the pattern of his scarlet and gold robe. Coarse woollens were one of Milan's chief industries, and we hear of fustians and cottons. Brocades and silks were her speciality, and the descriptions of the Visconti trousseaux show how many dresses a lady of station would possess.

The account of Valentina's outfit in particular gives a graphic picture of a lady's dress and ornaments in the fourteenth century. Her jewellery was unsurpassed, even at the Court of France, and we have an interesting inventory of it, showing the wealth of the family which could provide its daughter with so vast a number of diamonds, pearls, sapphires, emeralds, and a host of lesser stones. One tiara alone had thirty rubies and thirty sapphires, twelve emeralds and two hundred and forty pearls. Another coronet was composed of six lilies made of sapphires, pearls, and rubies; evidently the taste of the period preferred mixing stones and colours in a way which seems gaudy to modern ideas. She had a number of girdles, one made entirely of flowers composed of great pearls; she had a collar of one hundred and thirty-five pearls, a bracelet of two hundred, a purse with eleven rubies, twelve sapphires, and eighty-two pearls. She had many beautiful clasps, one in particular representing a dove and a pelican. She had rings of diamonds and rubies, flasks inlaid with jewels, and books encrusted with gems. Amongst her dresses was a green robe embroidered with no less than two thousand five hundred large pearls, and ornamented with diamonds. She had a scarlet cloak embroidered with pearls, and caps and tunics of red and gold. One of her head-dresses was of white brocade embroidered with golden birds. For her bedroom she had a bed with hangings of cloth of gold, worked with ears of corn and red and white flowers, and a coverlet and set of cushions to match. She had another set of hangings of velvet embroidered with golden lilies. She had sets of gold and silver plate, and vases of the same metals. One of her tables was made of jasper, and her altar

fittings were of gold. So were some of the statues and figures she took with her, special mention being made of a golden figure of St. Margaret trampling on the dragon. The French bridegroom certainly had not much to provide for his wife, but possibly the Italian princesses, accustomed to a very high standard of comfort and luxury, were afraid of the northern barbarian ways, and so went prepared to make themselves a home in accordance with their own ideas. Valentina's outfit was exceptional even for those days, and was as much the talk of Europe as the wedding feast of Violante.

Indeed, life in the great Castello at Pavia had reached a high level of civilization. The many rooms and halls were all beautifully decorated, some with frescoes painted by artists who came from all parts of Italy, others hung with tapestries and brocades. The furniture was painted or inlaid, the floors were of mosaic, and even the ceilings were painted. The various rooms had names, such as the "Lion" room, the "Leopard," the "Tiger," and the "Rabbit"; some were called after the colours used in the decoration—the "Red," "Green," "White."

The chapel was most beautifully furnished, and contained no less than two hundred relics, and Mass was sung daily when the prince was in residence. The stained glass was mostly the work of Molinari, who also made many of the windows of the Castello, being specially proficient in studies of animals. The library became one of the most famous in the world. Azzo and Giovanni had collected a good number of books, Galeazzo, the friend of Petrarch, added many more, and his successors followed his example. In Giangaleazzo's day it contained no less than nine hundred and eighty priceless codici, copies of all the great classical authors, the early fathers, the modern Italians, such as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, works on medicine, botany, zoology, mathematics, music, many illuminated manuscripts, maps, and a globe. The books were bound in

leather, coloured white, red, green, peacock, black, yellow. A few were bound in vellum, and some had special covers set with jewels. Each volume was stamped with the initials and device of the duke who added it to the library. This practice enables many of the books to be identified to-day, scattered as they are throughout Europe. France, for instance, possesses some which belonged to Bianca of Savoy and to Archbishop Giovanni, which still retain their bindings and the initials of their owner.

Behind the Castello lay the walled garden, with pergolas covered with all sorts of vines, and with espaliers of fruit trees. In the middle was a great fish-pond full of fish, and with little shelters made of rocks and shells where the fish could shelter from the sun. Near this was the swimming bath, a covered building of white marble with large windows where the duke and duchess came to bathe in the hot weather. All sorts of rare plants grew in the garden besides the ones common to Italy, and Galeazzo took great pains to secure seeds and roots from all parts. Beyond the garden was the vast park, thirteen miles in extent, with woods and valleys and a river running through. Here Galeazzo built "Mirabello," an earlier Trianon, where he and his wife and children would come to spend a few quiet days in the summer, away from the palazzo and the noise of the town. If they wished for an even more rural retreat they would go to their palazzo at Abbiategrasso, and perhaps return by water along the network of canals connecting that place with Pavia.

CHAPTER XII

WOMEN OF THE VISCONTI FAMILY

Regina della Scala, her family and their destinies—Her character—Her investments—Doninna dei Porri—Lucia and her proposed marriages—Agnese Gonzaga and her married life and execution—Caterina, wife of Giangaleazzo—Her life in Pavia—Difficulties after her husband's death—Quarrel with her son and murder—Bianca of Savoy and Court at Pavia—Violante and Isabella—Valentina, her trousseau—Life in Paris—Murder of Louis d'Orleans—Claim of Valentina's heirs to Milan—Visconti descendants in France, Austria, and England.

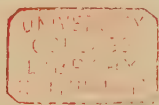
BONFADINI remarks in his history of Milan that women played a great part in the lives of the Visconti. He speaks of Regina, wife of Bernabò ; of Bianchina Landi, who was said to have been the cause of the revolt of Piacenza against Galeazzo ; of Isabella del Fiesco, who was accused of murdering her husband Luchino ; of Beatrice d'Este, who saved the life of her little son Azzo ; Donnina dei Porri, who consoled Bernabò in his last days in the prison of Trezzo ; of Agnese, beheaded by her husband Gonzaga ; of that other Agnes who was so devotedly loved by Filippo Maria ; of Valentina and Violante, who made such splendid marriages ; and of the woman who was the last of the race, Bianca Maria, wife of Francesco Sforza. Certainly such a list shows that these women were not nonentities ; they have left behind them a record of their lives and impressions of their characters. In their stories we can catch a glimpse of life in those days—the life of individuals as distinct from the lives of rulers, whose history comes to us through their policies or wars or legislation.

The Visconti were men of strong passions and often of violent character. Their wives and daughters seem sometimes to have resembled them. Bernabò, the fiercest of the family, was fortunate in his wife, for he had one whose

pride and strength enabled her to hold her own and thereby to help her husband in a way which would have been impossible to a weaker or gentler woman.

Regina della Scala was so called, we are told, because of her pride, her baptismal name being Beatrice. She came from Venice in 1350 to wed Bernabò, who then shared with his two brothers the expectation of succeeding to Milan when their uncle, the great Archbishop Giovanni, should die. The marriage was indeed brought about by the Archbishop, who planned the alliance after the great Council of Milan had made the lordship hereditary in the Visconti family: "The male descendants of Matteo Visconti, born of lawful wedlock, shall be in perpetuity true and lawful lords of the city of Milan."

Their married life lasted for forty years, and sixteen children were born to them—five sons and eleven daughters. These children were destined to have strange and eventful lives; the sons almost all met with tragic deaths, and the daughters were not much more fortunate. Regina could never have foreseen the fates in store for her numerous children, and she lived happily enough in the great castle at the Porta Romana. Bernabò was not faithful to her—his illegitimate children even outnumbered his legitimate; but none the less he was very much attached to her. In his terrible fits of rage she was the only person who could go near him, and she could generally calm him and bring him into a more reasonable frame of mind. Regina was very capable, and her husband recognized this. In 1371 he acquired Reggio, and at once gave the city to his wife, who already had a connexion with it, being herself a della Scala. Reggio was sold to Bernabò by the Gonzaga, who had held it as a fief from the Scaligers on yearly payment of a falcon. Regina became the ruler of this city; she had her own officials, who called themselves "officials of the lady," and her documents were sealed with her own seal. A few years later Brescia was settled upon their infant son Mastino, and



Bernabò appointed Regina as Regent. In this case she was only to be his representative, and she transacted business in connexion with the place only in that capacity. In addition she possessed certain fiefs of her own, made over to her by Bernabò in return for her dowry money. These were situated in Lunigiana and in the Riviera di Salò and Parmigiano. In 1376 she had occasion to remind certain people that the district between the River Oglio and Brescia had been conceded to her by her husband and that he had formally given up all his rights there.

She administered her territories very well, spending money on improvements, reclaiming waste land, and exacting a high standard of efficiency from her officials. She bought up "lands about which no one cared," with a sound instinct that improvements would make them a good investment. She also gave to charity and religious endowments, the well-known Scala theatre being built on the site of a church founded by her. The money needed she obtained partly from the interest on her dowry, partly from the money paid by the Scala in the peace of 1379. Evidently she had considerable funds of her own and complete liberty as to their expenditure. Thus, when Reggio was made over to her she visited it, and "lamented over the desolation" caused by the wars. Reggio had sunk in population from 8,000 males to 700, and was declared too poor even to pay the *podestà's* salary. Under her administration recovery set in, and later we find Reggio an extremely flourishing city, contributing a large quota to the dowry of Valentina. Regina's chief rival in Bernabò's affections was Donnina dei Porri, who likewise was devoted to him, and remained faithful to him after his fall. Donnina had borne him many children; one of her daughters married Sir John Hawkwood, another married Landi, and another Bertrand de la Sale, all *condottieri*. After Regina's death Donnina remained at Court and went through a form of marriage with Bernabò. After his imprisonment she was allowed by

Giangaleazzo to visit him in prison and remain with him until his death. Giangaleazzo declared the marriage void, thereby earning the anger of Hawkwood, who would have liked his wife legitimized, but in fact the ceremony was not recognized as legal. Regina did not quarrel with Donnina ; on the contrary, she seems to have " kept in " with her. On the occasion of the Hawkwood wedding " the feast was honoured by the presence of the lady and all the daughters of Bernabò. The Lady Regina gave the bride one thousand ducats of gold in a vase. . . . They had no dancing in respect for the late Lady Taddea."

There was policy behind this, for Bernabò was generous and apt to make lavish gifts. Regina wished to see that too much was not given away ; she took care to get donations made to herself, rather than to Donnina, in this way securing the lands for her own heirs.

Her great ambitions for her children were indeed the indirect cause of their downfall. By her pride she encouraged her sons in their arrogance. Thus, when Hawkwood was fighting for Bernabò against the Papacy in 1379 Regina pushed forward her eldest son Marco, and between them the great *condottiere* was so enraged that a complete rupture followed and Hawkwood left Bernabò and went off to Florence. In 1360 she provoked a rupture with Francesco Carrara of Padua, for Bernabò had agreed to marry his eldest son Marco to Carrara's daughter, and then " at the instigation of his wife Regina," refused to carry out the treaty. She was so set on the advancement of her children that she strongly supported Bernabò's designs upon Verona, and actually went with the army which marched to attack her illegitimate brothers. She also went with her husband when he marched against Parma, and stirred him up to attack Reggio. She called her youngest son by the Scala name " Mastino," which was unknown in the Visconti family, and planned that the child should marry a Scala and inherit Brescia and Salò, near Verona.

When, in 1384, Louis of France, ally of Bernabò, prepared to cross the Alps, Regina shared her husband's exultation in the splendid prospect opening before them ; but in June of that year she fell ill of a fever, and died in a few days. She may have fretted that she could not live to see the marriage of her daughter and the triumph of her husband ; in reality she had died just before the catastrophe which was to destroy all her family. " She was very proud, and haughty and brave and insatiable after riches," says Azario, but she was a fitting wife for Bernabò ; and this striking couple, neither of whom could have been easy to live with, succeeded in making each other happy.

Their daughters had eventful lives. Of the three who married Germans, Verde, the wife of Leopold of Austria ; Taddea, wife of Stephen of Bavaria ; Maddalena, wife of Frederick of Bavaria, little is known. Of the others, Lucia, Caterina, and Agnese passed through many trials. Poor Lucia was destined to endless matrimonial disappointments. Bernabò thought he had made a splendid match when he arranged for her marriage to the eldest son of Louis of Anjou, uncle of the King of France. The dowry was fixed, a part of it paid in 1382 ; but as Lucia and Louis were both very young the wedding was postponed. When Louis of Anjou died of fever his widow, Maria, prepared to push on the Visconti match for her son's sake. The consent of the King of France was hastily obtained, young Louis went to Avignon to get a Papal dispensation, and all was in train, when Bernabò fell into his nephew's hands. Lucia's marriage became impossible, and she lost her chance of a match with the royal family of France. After Bernabò's capture and death his daughters all lived at the Court of his supplanter, Giangaleazzo, and were well treated by him. In 1399 Lucia was asked in marriage by John of Gaunt for his son Henry of Hereford, then a widower and travelling on the Continent while banished from the Court of Richard II. Giangaleazzo would not agree to the match unless Henry

were pardoned, for he did not wish to offend the English king. Henry soon became involved in the plots against Richard, which were to end in giving him the throne, and the marriage proposals were delayed. Meanwhile another suitor appeared in Frederic, son of the Landgrave of Thuringia. Caterina undertook to lay the matter before Lucia, who was given her choice between Henry of Hereford and Frederick of Thuringia, and told that if neither pleased her Giangaleazzo would find her another husband. She decided for Frederick, on the grounds that this seemed a safer proposal, and the duke confirmed her choice and gave a dowry of 75,000 florins. The formal betrothal took place before the duke and duchess, but Frederick never claimed his bride. Lucia never even set eyes on him, and later declared she only chose him under pressure. She remained at Milan, and a few months later Thuringia joined the League of Rupert of the Palatinate, which was inimical to Giangaleazzo. Poor Lucia was left with no real husband, but she could not annul her marriage in the lifetime of Giangaleazzo, as that would have involved her in saying the match was forced upon her. After Giangaleazzo's death she felt free, and accordingly made a sworn statement that she had consented to accept Frederick only through fear of the duke, and that she had taken off her wedding ring directly after the ceremony. Eventually, in 1407, she married Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent, the wedding taking place at Southwark. She was destined to be unlucky, for the very next year Edmund was killed in Brittany. Lucia did not go back to Milan; she probably had had enough of life in the Visconti Court, and she preferred to stay in England. Her husband had left her Cottingham Castle in Yorkshire, and there she lived for sixteen years. She died in April, 1424, and was buried at the Augustinian Church in London.

Lucia's existence may have been dull, and she probably felt the humiliation of her position as a dependent in

Giangaleazzo's household, but at least she was more fortunate than her sister Agnese. In 1381 Agnese was married to Francesco Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua, to whom she bore one daughter, called Alda. Agnese resembled her father Bernabò in disposition, being violent and revengeful. She accordingly hated her cousin Giangaleazzo, whom she held guilty of her father's death. When the League defeated Giangaleazzo, Agnese insisted on showing her joy by dancing, and was beaten by her husband for this, as Francesco did not approve of any manifestation which would anger his neighbour. Whether the pair were on good terms is not known, but almost immediately after this scandal began to grow in the Mantuan Court. Agnese had a page, Antonio di Scandiano, with whom it was asserted she was in love. The tale came to Francesco's ears, and he ordered an inquiry before the *podestà*. That year the *podestà* was Obizzo of Bologna, presumably an impartial judge, who was assisted by Giovanni della Capra of Cremona. The trial began in February, 1391, and Antonio confessed that he and the marchioness were guilty. They were sentenced to death; Antonio was strangled, Agnese, as befitted her higher rank, was beheaded. She went to the scaffold calmly, dressed in black. It was asserted by later writers that the charge was got up at Giangaleazzo's instigation, in order to prejudice Francesco against Bernabò's family. This is not likely, for Bernabò had been dead six years, and Francesco was not friendly with his son Carlo. Nor were the guilt and death of Agnese calculated to make her angry husband better disposed towards her cousin. In fact, it had exactly the opposite effect, and Gonzaga, who had hitherto been on good terms with Giangaleazzo, now joined the League against him.

Of all the daughters of Regina and Bernabò, Caterina had the strangest history. In 1379 Bernabò was angered to hear of the proposed marriage between his nephew Giangaleazzo and Maria, heiress of Sicily. Giangaleazzo had lost

his wife, Isabella of Valois, in 1372. He had only one son, the little Azzone, and a daughter Valentina, and doubtless in view of the large family of Bernabò he wished to strengthen his own position by a marriage which should bring him allies and perhaps further heirs to his share of the Milanese. Bernabò brought such pressure to bear that it was broken off. He went further, and induced Giangaleazzo to accept Caterina di Bernabò as his wife. He had already sent an embassy to England offering Caterina as a bride for Richard II, but he now abandoned that idea. The wedding took place in Milan in November, 1380, at San Giovanni in Conca. Poor Caterina found herself in a strange position. Bernabò certainly despised and disliked his nephew, and it was the common opinion that he meant to supplant him and seize his possessions. Caterina was intended to be her father's agent, and in a sense a spy upon her husband. Later, in the accusation against Bernabò, Giangaleazzo declared that Bernabò had used witchcraft to prevent Caterina from bearing him children. Certainly Bernabò corresponded with his daughter and sought to obtain information through this channel. Caterina however found herself happy in her new life. Giangaleazzo, now in his thirtieth year, was a handsome man whose piety and love of letters did not earn him the scorn of his wife, despite Bernabò's jeers. The Castello of Pavia, with its beautiful rooms and lovely gardens and park, was a far pleasanter home than the fortress of Bernabò in Milan. Giangaleazzo's mother, Bianca of Savoy, was a woman of very sweet character and made all around her happy, and her daughter Violante, who still lived at Pavia, resembled her. Caterina was herself of a quieter and more retiring disposition than her brothers and sisters. She fell in love with her husband and settled down happily in the family circle of Pavia. Unfortunately no children came at first, and the death of her little stepson Azzone in 1381 left Giangaleazzo without any male heir. Then came the negotiations of Bernabò

with the French Court, and it became clear to all those around Giangaleazzo that he was no longer safe. In 1385 he forestalled his uncle's designs, and himself became the conqueror. Caterina saw her husband triumphant, but her father and brother were prisoners. Bernabò only lived a few months, but her two brothers passed the rest of their lives in captivity. For the next twenty years Caterina was the reigning lady over all Milan. The whole of the possessions of Bernabò fell to Giangaleazzo, and his conquests soon made him the most powerful lord in Italy. Caterina's sisters lived at Court, and she was entrusted by her husband with the task of laying before them the negotiations for their marriages. Like other Visconti ladies she was given certain lands and castles of her own, which she administered herself. She was surrounded by every luxury, and in 1388, to the immense joy of her husband, a son came to crown their happiness. The birth of Giovanni Maria was hailed with rejoicings all over the Milanese, and the various towns all sent gifts to the duchess. Four years later another boy was born, Filippo Maria, and the succession appeared safe. Life passed easily now for Caterina. The Court moved about from Milan to Pavia and to the country palace at Abbiategrasso. In 1395 Giangaleazzo obtained the creation of the Duchy; all his plans went well and every undertaking seemed to prosper. Only the much longed for heir proved a disappointment. Giovanni Maria even in childhood showed a bad disposition; he inherited all Bernabò's cruelty, and what seemed eccentricity in Bernabò was mania in his grandson. Filippo Maria was much superior to his brother, but the creation of the Duchy made it necessary to keep to the rule of primogeniture. Then in 1402 came Giangaleazzo's sudden death, and Caterina found herself a widow with the guardianship of her two young sons. The situation was a very difficult one, and she was totally unequal to facing it. She relied too implicitly on Barbarava, the secretary of the Council. Faction again

came to life, and in 1403 open tumults broke out in Milan. Caterina and her sons were besieged in the Castello, and Barbarava fled. Bernabò's illegitimate sons now crossed the frontier and had to be bought off. A large part of Giangaleazzo's dominions was lost, owing to revolts and the unscrupulous policy of Venice and the neighbouring States. In 1404 the young duke broke definitely with his mother. Caterina fled from Milan, but was followed and seized. She was sent to Monza a prisoner, and died there under very suspicious circumstances. Giovanni Maria, to clear himself of the rumour that he had ordered his mother's death, arrested the Castellan, Pusterla. He was accused of murdering the duchess, declared guilty, and executed, but the general belief was that he had acted in the way that he knew would give satisfaction to the duke. So Caterina's days ended in the same tragic atmosphere of strife and bloodshed and suspected murder which had surrounded the beginning of her married life.

Thus far we have been concerned with Bernabò's descendants. A rather happier record is that of his brother Galeazzo's home circle. Galeazzo, in September, 1350, married Bianca of Savoy, and took his bride to live in the palace he then occupied near the eastern gate of Milan. There a year later a son, Giangaleazzo, was born, and later a daughter, Violante. These were to be their only children, for another child, a son, born at Pavia did not survive his birth, and a little daughter, Maria, died when four years old. Bianca of Savoy was a woman whom every one loved; she was kind and gentle, very charitable, and of a serene and happy disposition. She was clever and very well educated, knowing foreign languages and possessing books written in French and German. Her husband was devoted to her, and by the purity of his family life showed that a mediaeval prince could be faithful to his wife. Galeazzo must himself have possessed many endearing characteristics, for he never quarrelled with his violent brother

Bernabò, though for years they both lived in Milan, and in their joint rulership must have found many occasions for friction. In 1360 Bianca welcomed to their home her little daughter-in-law Isabella of Valois, daughter of the King of France, who was sent as a child of ten to be brought up with her future husband, then only nine years old. A few years later the whole family removed to the lovely palace Galeazzo had built at Pavia. Bianca was its first mistress, and she must have loved its spacious courts and airy rooms, with the large windows giving a wide view right over the plain away to the Apennines and Alps. The gardens, fountains, and the park, with its woods and streams, were a paradise after the crowded streets of Milan and the fortress of Porta Giovia. Isabella of Valois shared Bianca's love of books, and both added volumes to the great library which was then being started. In 1366, a year after the move to Pavia, Isabella gave birth to her first child, a daughter, Valentina. Galeazzo and Bianca were delighted at the arrival of their grandchild, and great festivities were held in the newly decorated rooms. A splendid christening feast was arranged, and the baby's godparents, Amedeus of Savoy, the Marquis of Mantua, and Malatesta of Rimini, came with their suites. Two years later Bianca's only daughter, Violante, was married to Lionel of Clarence, son of Edward III of England, and the gorgeousness of the wedding feast became a legend throughout Europe. Besides the ordering of her large household Bianca had the management of her estates. Her husband gave her lands round Binasco, Monza, and Abbiate, which she administered through her own officials. She had not the business instincts which led her sister-in-law Regina to buy up poor properties, but she devoted herself to the welfare of her people. She was much loved by the inhabitants of Pavia, who benefited both from the splendid Court kept by Galeazzo and from the charities of Bianca. Troubles came to disturb the happy life of the Castello. Isabella had one

son, Azzone, alive, but another, Giangaleazzo, died as an infant, and in 1372 Isabella herself died in giving birth to a third son, Carlo, who only survived his mother a few weeks. Galeazzo was now suffering terribly from gout. He was obliged to have his meals by himself, and doctors from all parts tried in vain to bring him relief. He died in 1378 and was buried in the Church of San Pietro di Ciel d'Oro. Terribly anxious days followed for Bianca. She and her son were alone in the world, and within ten miles of them lay Milan, where lived Bernabò and his ambitious wife Regina, with their swarm of fierce sons, all casting covetous eyes at the great possessions of their solitary cousin. Bianca helped Giangaleazzo by her counsel and advice. She welcomed Caterina, thrust upon her son by Bernabò, and took her share in transforming a possible enemy into a devoted helper. When Bernabò's French alliance showed the nearness of the peril, she advised her son to strike while there was yet time. She must have known his plans and have waited in terrible anxiety when he set out from Pavia for the momentous meeting with his uncle. The old "Lament of Bernabò" describes her telling Giangaleazzo of her fears and saying, "If Bernabò becomes related to the French king he will seize upon your sovereignty." With the dramatic capture of Bernabò her fears passed away. She saw her son welcomed into Milan and recognized by the powers of Italy. One of the first acts of Giangaleazzo after his triumph was to give the Castle of Tressano and other lands to his mother. Bianca did not long survive the removal of the danger which had hung over her much-loved son. She was busy in plans for the founding of a hospice for "gentry who had become impoverished through no fault of their own" when she fell ill and died in 1387. Giangaleazzo founded the hospice as a memorial to her. The people of Pavia, whom she had befriended throughout her life amongst them, put up an arched gateway to her memory. The arch and the beautiful tomb made for her

by her son have been destroyed, and nothing now remains in Pavia to commemorate the woman who was one of the most universally loved and respected persons of the age.

The other members of the family circle over which Bianca presided were her daughter Violante, her daughter-in-law Isabella, and her little granddaughter Valentina. Violante, or Yolande, was even more unfortunate than her cousin Lucia di Bernabò in her matrimonial affairs. Her first husband was Lionel of Clarence, to whom she was married with so much pomp at Whitsun, 1367. Lionel died of fever in October of the same year, and his young widow continued to live with her parents at Pavia. Ten years later she married Secondotto of Montferrat, but before the year was out he was assassinated by his groom in a stable, while on a journey, and once more Violante returned home. When Bernabò prepared to isolate Giangaleazzo he insisted on a whole series of alliances between the two families, and Violante was involved. She was married to Ludovico, Bernabò's second son, in 1381. The next year the death of Marco left Ludovico in the position of the eldest son. Ludovico was a coarse, violent man, bitterly contemptuous of Giangaleazzo, whom he and his brothers openly threatened. Violante could not have been happy with him, but she did not have to face a very long married life. When in May, 1385, Bernabò rode out to meet Giangaleazzo by the gate of San Ambrogio, Ludovico accompanied his father and was arrested along with him. He was at once imprisoned, and his wife never saw him again. For nineteen years he lived in captivity at Trezzo, dying there in 1404. He had long outlived Violante, who died in the Castello at the end of 1386. She had been happy in the quiet life shared with her mother and sisters-in-law—first Isabella and then Caterina—and her loss was a great grief to them. Isabella, whose studious, gentle nature had made her a special favourite with Bianca, had died in 1372. She left

behind her a daughter, Valentina, born probably in 1366, and a son, Azzone, who died in 1381.

Valentina was thus the sole surviving child of Isabella, and until the birth of Giovanni Maria in 1388 the heiress of Giangaleazzo. She was destined to be the only one of Giangaleazzo's children to have any legitimate descendants, and it was to this fact that the French wars of Louis XII were due. Besides the importance which the French claim to Milan gives her, Valentina herself had an extraordinarily interesting life. She was brought up by her grandmother Bianca, and given the best of educations. She was taught to read, write, and reckon all at a very early age, and knew both French, the language of her mother, and German and Latin. She could play and dance and had all the accomplishments of a princess of the day, besides more solid learning than most. The great library at Pavia contained many books belonging to Bianca and Isabella, and Valentina herself took quite a number of volumes with her to France after her wedding. The learned men of the university frequently dined with Giangaleazzo at the Castello, and thus the girl was brought into familiar contact with many of the greatest scholars of the day. Various plans were made for her future, but nothing very definite was proposed till 1385, when it was suggested that she should marry the brother of the Emperor Wenceslas. The political situation however induced Giangaleazzo to wish for an alliance with France. After the fall of Bernabò, Giangaleazzo had always to fear foreign intervention on behalf of his cousins. In 1385 Isabella, daughter of Stephen of Bavaria and Taddea di Bernabò, married Charles VI of France. She was a bitter enemy of Giangaleazzo, and determined to influence France against him. It was essential to counteract her, and accordingly negotiations were opened by Giangaleazzo with the French Court and a proposal put forward for the marriage of Valentina, then Giangaleazzo's only child, with Louis of Orleans, only

brother of Charles VI. Valentina was likely to be heiress of Milan, for Caterina after five years of marriage had no children. In addition, Giangaleazzo proposed to give his daughter the largest dowry ever paid, even by the rich Visconti. Besides the town of Asti and the county of Vertus, he would endow her with 450,000 florins, an enormous sum for those days. The French king was at that period in Flanders, and thus away from the influence of his wife Isabella, who of course was opposed to the match. The negotiations were rapidly concluded and the formal betrothal took place in January, 1387. Valentina did not go to France immediately; indeed, she remained at Pavia for another two years. This delay has given rise to much conjecture, and all that can be said for certain is that it was due to Giangaleazzo himself. He was at that time engaged with his wars with Verona and Padua, and though the money for the dowry was actually raised, he used it for the heavy expenses of the campaign. This involved the raising of further sums to be transmitted to France, for two-thirds of the dowry were to be paid immediately after the marriage. Quite unexpectedly too Giangaleazzo had once more hopes of an heir, and this necessitated the modification of the marriage articles. The birth of Giovanni Maria in 1388 meant that Valentina was no longer heiress of Milan, though, as will be seen, she retained certain claims which were to be of vital importance. At length, in the summer of 1389 Valentina, with her vast train, which included a strong escort for the actual instalment of the dowry and for her immensely valuable trousseau, left Pavia. Her father would not be present at her departure, for he was afraid of breaking down on parting from his dearly loved child.

Valentina was then about nineteen years of age. She was tall and slight, with the reddish-gold hair of her father. Every chronicler who mentions her speaks with approbation of her grace and charm. Throughout her married life she

was to show herself a most devoted wife and mother, and amongst all the terrible troubles which were to overtake her she retained her happy, bright disposition. At first all promised well. Louis of Orleans loved his wife, the French Court was a brilliant one, and Valentina was surrounded with gaiety. She had, however, an inveterate enemy in the queen. Isabella of Bavaria was not as beautiful as Valentina. She was short, with reddish hair and a large thin-lipped mouth. She had inherited from her grandfather Bernabò a very violent and cruel disposition, as her later reputation and even her nickname, "the she-wolf of France," was to show. For a few years the cousins lived side by side in outward amity, but beneath the surface Isabella was working for the ruin of the Visconti. In 1391 Valentina's husband went to Italy. He visited his father-in-law at Milan, and discussed the threatened expedition of Armagnac against Visconti. John of Armagnac's sister Beatrice had married Carlo di Bernabò, and he now swore that he would avenge the death of Bernabò. Queen Isabella supported him, and gave all the help she could. Valentina, who corresponded frequently with her father, warned him of the plots forming against him. The influence of Orleans was not strong enough to prevent the attack, and despite the orders of the king himself Armagnac marched with his army across the Alps, only to die in the rout before Alessandria. In this same year (1392) the king went mad, and this terrible calamity was to prove the source of all Valentina's unhappiness. Charles from this time was subject to fits of insanity, and his condition varied greatly from time to time. During his bad periods he showed the greatest aversion for his wife ; he would not have her near him and the sight of her would throw him into paroxysms. Valentina, on the contrary, could soothe him, and was the person whom he preferred to have with him. They played cards together, and she would play and sing to him. The queen was not slow to benefit by her husband's misfortune.

Political power fell into her hands, and she used it to advance her family interests. She began to negotiate with Florence, who after the creation of the Duchy in 1395 was extremely apprehensive of Giangaleazzo's designs. On the basis of their common enmity Isabella became the ally of the republic. She saw in the influence of Valentina over the king a weapon to use against her rival. Paris was filled with rumours that the king had been bewitched, and the sorceress was Valentina. Feeling was stirred up against the duchess, and rose to such a height that at length she was obliged to leave the city. No formal charges had been brought against her, so she could never prove her innocence. She withdrew to Asnières in 1396, and later to Blois, and though her absence produced no improvement in the king's health, she did not return to Court. For the next ten years she lived in the country. In the first four years of her marriage she had given birth to three children, who all died in infancy. In 1394 a son was born who survived, and who was to grow up and become famous as the poet Charles of Orleans. After she had left the Court four more children were born, all of whom lived, a testimony perhaps to the unhealthiness of Court life in Paris. Valentina devoted herself to the education and upbringing of her children. Her husband, though obliged to remain in Paris as head of the family during the king's illness, frequently visited the little Court of Blois. Surrounded by books, much occupied in good works, full of interest in her new way of life, Valentina seemed to have found peace and contentment. Her fears for her father were relieved by the battle of Nicopolis, where so many French nobles fell in that disastrous defeat by the Turks that all talk of a French attack on Milan ceased. The ignominious expedition of the Emperor Rupert showed how strong Giangaleazzo was, and it became clear that it was he rather than his enemies who was to be feared. His death in 1402, though a terrible blow to Valentina, yet found her too anxious on her own behalf

to be able to do anything to help his young sons in their difficulties ; for in that same year her husband was brought into violent conflict with Jean sans Peur, the new Duke of Burgundy. The two cousins had been rivals from their childhood, and Burgundy bitterly resented the power exercised by Orleans as only brother of the mad king. Isabella at this juncture herself quarrelled with Burgundy and became friendly with Orleans. Stories came to Blois of the great intimacy between Orleans and the queen. Valentina, who always retained her love for Louis and her loyalty to him, had for long known that he was not a faithful husband. She could only remain in her anxiety and exile, for Isabella was now all-powerful and would never allow her to return to Court. Then in the month of November, 1407, the dreadful news was brought to Valentina that Louis had been assassinated in the streets of Paris. He had been paying a visit to the queen and was set upon by a band of armed men, who were lying in wait for him as he returned home. He was stabbed to death beneath the eyes of the terrified inhabitants of houses overlooking the street, who could do nothing to save him. The assassins were traced to Burgundy's palace, and, confronted with the fact, Jean sans Peur confessed that he had ordered the murder. He fled from Paris, but soon heard that the city applauded his act, for he was extremely popular with the mob. Valentina left her retirement and came to demand justice for her husband's murderer. She knelt before the king, dressed in black, and besought him to listen, but the king could do nothing ; he was beyond transacting any business and could not even avenge his brother. Valentina was obliged to go back to her home. Twelve years later Jean sans Peur, aware after Agincourt of the ruin he had brought upon France, tried to become reconciled with the Orleanists. The crime committed so many years before was still unforgotten, and at the bridge of Montereau Burgundy himself was killed by an Orleanist

as he knelt to do homage to the Dauphin Charles. Valentina had not lived to see this act of mistaken justice, for worn out by her grief and her wrongs she died in December, 1408.

By the irony of fate Valentina, beautiful and noted in her life, was destined to become even more famous after her death. It is certain that her marriage contract, and also Giangaleazzo's will, left the Duchy to the heirs of Valentina, failing the male heirs of her father. Giovanni Maria and Filippo Maria both died without leaving any legitimate heirs. Force of arms and play of circumstances gave the Duchy into the hands of Francesco Sforza. Valentina's eldest son, Charles of Orleans, could not press his claims to Milan, for he had been taken prisoner at Agincourt and was for twenty-five years a captive in England. He had been married when twelve years of age to Isabella, daughter of Charles VI, and achieved the peculiar distinction of having his first child born when he was fifteen years old, his second not till actually fifty years later. He never prosecuted his claim to Milan, but it was not forgotten, and when his son Louis ascended the French throne in 1498 the claim was revived and the French conquest of Milan, with all its vast consequences, followed.

Until Valentina's heirs asserted their claims Milan passed into the hands of the Sforzas, who through Bianca Maria claimed descent from the Visconti. Bianca was the illegitimate daughter of Filippo Maria and Agnese del Maino, and in many ways a remarkable woman. Her history belongs more properly to that of the Sforza dynasty, but she was a link between the two houses, and Francesco made a point of emphasizing the fact that his wife was the last of the old family. Filippo Maria was much attached to his only child, who was brought up by her mother at Abbiategrasso. In the crisis of 1432 she was betrothed to Francesco Sforza, whom her father wished to conciliate. The duke did not mean to go farther if he could help it, and for the next eight years Francesco's efforts to win his bride

were quite unavailing. At last, in 1440, Filippo was so hard pressed that he saw no alternative, and was compelled to agree that the marriage should take place. He refused to take part in it himself ; Bianca Maria was sent to Cremona alone, and the wedding ceremony received no further recognition from the duke. Bianca accompanied her husband to the March, where the next few years of her life were passed, and she never saw her father again. Indeed, Filippo Maria seems to have been determined to show Francesco that this alliance did not mean much. When a son was born in 1444, and Francesco sent word to ask what name Filippo would like given to his grandchild, he replied curtly that he took no interest in the matter. When he lay dying he refused to nominate Sforza and Bianca as heirs to Milan, and it is now considered certain that his will gave the Duchy to Alfonso of Aragon. The brief interlude of the Ambrosian Republic followed, and now Bianca won fame by her courageous defence of Cremona against the attack of Venice. Bianca was alone, and on the approach of the Venetians she hurriedly garrisoned the town, sent for reinforcements, and until Francesco could come to the rescue held it triumphantly against the enemy. Francesco totally defeated the Venetians and destroyed their fleet, and shortly after this Milan itself accepted him as lord. Bianca returned as duchess to the country of her birth. The Castello in Milan where her father had died had been destroyed, and her home was made in the Castello of Pavia, where so many ladies of the Visconti had lived. She had eight children, to whom she and Francesco tried to give the best education possible. They were brought up on the lines laid down by that great man Vittorino da Feltre, and their bodies as well as their minds were carefully trained. The eldest son, Galeazzo Maria, was extremely clever and precocious, and in childhood he was attractive and well-behaved. Yet, like Giovanni Maria Visconti before him, the boy with whom such pains were taken turned out

hopelessly bad. The parallel between them is very close, though Galeazzo Maria was not so insanely cruel as his forerunner. Still, he was cruel, violent, and excessively dissipated. When Francesco died Bianca Maria proclaimed her son, then absent in France, Duke of Milan, and invoked the support of other Italian States. She endeavoured to help him in the task of government, having herself for many years given audience and taken an active interest in affairs of State. Galeazzo would not accept his mother's assistance, and after his marriage to the foolish Bona of Savoy he broke with her completely. Bianca, miserable at the state of affairs and the many signs of her son's hateful character, in 1467 was forced to leave Milan. She set out for Cremona, but was taken ill and died suddenly at Melegnano, the scene of the death of Giangaleazzo. Rumour again accused the son of his mother's death, and said that Galeazzo Maria had caused poison to be administered to her, but more probably she died of fever. Nine years later the son who had been such a grief to her was assassinated as he walked up the nave of the ancient church of San Stefano. So great had been the disorders of his life that when his widow sought absolution for him from the Pope she was obliged to set forth a long list of "various and innumerable crimes" which were atoned for only by a very large payment to the funds of the Papacy.

With Bianca passed away the last person to bear the name of Visconti. The period of the great French invasions of Italy was at hand, and in the stress and turmoil of the times the glory of the Visconti was soon forgotten. Giangaleazzo had foreseen only too clearly the result of bringing the foreigner into Italy, and it is by a true stroke of irony that it was through his own daughter and by his own testament that the invasion came. Yet it is curious to note that though the male line of the Visconti failed, yet through the women members of the house the blood of the house was transmitted to all the great dynasties of Europe.

Valentina was the grandmother of Louis of Orleans, who became King of France, and the head of the later branch of Valois. Verde, daughter of Bernabò, was the ancestress of the Hapsburgs ; and an Italian historian writing in the time of the Empress Maria Teresa pointed out that the Empress was herself descended from the first rulers of Milan. Isabella of Bavaria, granddaughter of Bernabò, became the mother of that Catherine who married first Henry V of England and then Owen Tudor. Catherine, great-granddaughter of Bernabò, was the grandmother of Henry VII, founder of the House of Tudor, and the ancestress of both the Houses of Stuart and Hanover. Six generations separated Bernabò from his direct descendant Elizabeth Queen of England, and though it may be too fanciful it is interesting to notice that Elizabeth possessed the red-gold hair, the craft and subtlety, and, it may be added, the violent temper of her strange Italian ancestors.

CHAPTER XIII

ART AND LETTERS

Petrarch, association with Visconti—Its justification—His Italian poetry and Latin works—Humanist—Minor poets—Political songs—"Lament of Bernabò"—University of Pavia—The new learning—Education of boys and girls—Ideals of the humanists—Greek scholars at Pavia—Effect on Europe—Architecture under the Visconti—The Duomo of Milan—Its foundation—Organization and style—The Certosa of Pavia—Brickwork of Lombardy—Tombs of the Visconti—Illuminated manuscripts—Coinage.

THE Visconti, like the later princely Houses of Italy, were great patrons of art and letters. Their reigns are marked by two or three great achievements which should have added eternal glory to their names, but which unfortunately for them have been overshadowed by the legends of their crimes. A noteworthy instance of this is their patronage of Petrarch. Writers on the great poet have always condemned him severely for his association with the Visconti, and have simply accepted without question the view that the Visconti were monsters of iniquity, and that Petrarch should have known better than to have any dealings with them. The correctness of this view might in any case have seemed doubtful. Petrarch was not a simple scholar, nor a poet so immersed in his own work as to pay little attention to the world and its standards. He was a man of strong character and many attainments. He had travelled all over Italy and many parts of Europe. He was a statesman and diplomat, and perfectly well able to judge of the company he kept. That such a man should deliberately choose Milan as his dwelling-place and remain for ten years the friend of the Visconti, working for them and undertaking embassies on their behalf, should in itself refute the popular misconception of the dynasty. Petrarch could not have acted in this way had the Visconti been

worthless tyrants. The reason for the condemnation passed on him is easy to find. Boccaccio and many other of his friends bitterly reproached Petrarch for going to Milan, and their views have been adopted by Petrarch's biographers without further question. Florence has had the ear of the world, and the views of her writers have been the ones to obtain credence. Yet there lies the crux of the matter. Milan was the political enemy of Florence, and therefore to the Florentines it was a crime for any man to take up his abode in the Court of their opponent. No objection was raised, nor ever has been, to Petrarch's friendship with the Carraresi of Padua, whose history records fully as much crime and violence and treachery as that of the Visconti. Boccaccio's anger was political, and he accused his friend of countenancing a tyrant. Petrarch of course disagreed. He found in Archbishop Giovanni "one of the greatest men in Italy," and in Milan he declared he enjoyed as much freedom as any man could desire. The upholders of Florence should remember that Petrarch's father, along with Dante, had been ruthlessly expelled from Florence and sent into perpetual exile, on the grounds of their Ghibelline sympathies. It was natural that Petrarch should feel well disposed towards Milan, the great Ghibelline city, and his ardent belief in the Empire would incline him to friendship with the Visconti rather than with the head of the Guelfic League. In any case, the fact remains that when Petrarch left Vacluse and returned to Italy he chose Milan for his new home, and there he settled, and there his daughter married and his grandchildren were born. He acted in full knowledge of what he was doing and in the face of his friends' disapproval; nor did he change his views. His acquaintance with Archbishop Giovanni became friendship with Galeazzo II, and his relations with the Visconti were of the closest. It was only after Petrarch's own health became so bad as to oblige him to find a warmer and milder spot that he gave up his residence at Milan.

The intimate connexion with the Visconti really began in 1353. Previous to that date Petrarch, who was then living at Parma, received and answered letters from Luchino Visconti asking for verses and plants from the poet's garden. Nothing further developed until Petrarch left Vaicluse and went to Milan to visit his friend Zamorei, who was one of the Archbishop's officials. Giovanni at once invited him to make Milan his head-quarters, and offered him a house in a healthy part of the city, near the church of San Ambrogio. This offer Petrarch accepted, and despite the letters of Boccaccio, Dati, and Morelli he stuck to his decision. He undertook at the Visconti's request, to head the embassy which went to negotiate peace between Venice and Genoa, a task for which he was well qualified, as he had specially interested himself in the war between the maritime powers and had himself written to the Doges of the two republics. When eighteen months later Giovanni died, Petrarch entered into even warmer relations with Galeazzo and Bernabò, the Archbishop's heirs. At one time the long epitaph incised on Giovanni's tomb in the Duomo was ascribed to Petrarch, though it is the work of a lesser poet ; but he did give the official oration on the occasion of the succession of the brothers in 1354. With Bernabò he was on quite good terms, and stood as godfather to the first-born son, Marco, and wrote a Latin poem to the child. Galeazzo however was his real friend, and it is with him and Pavia that Petrarch was most associated. Galeazzo indeed had saved Petrarch's life when the two were riding to meet Cardinal Albornoz in 1353. Petrarch's horse reared and its hindquarters slipped over a precipitous edge. Galeazzo, with great presence of mind, snatched at the bridle and kept the horse up long enough for Petrarch to slip off its back and on to the road in safety.

Both by word and deed Petrarch advocated the extension of Visconti rule, with its accompaniment of order and prosperity. Thus when Galeazzo was besieging Pavia, held

against him by Bussolari, Petrarch wrote a long letter to the monk exhorting him to return to his religious duties and not meddle with politics. He says, "You wished to proclaim liberty and are yourself become an oppressor," and bids him "turn your eyes upon yourself, behold your sandals and your habit, everything in you announces not a temporal prince but a servant of Christ." When Pavia fell to Galeazzo, and he built his beautiful Castello there, Petrarch became a constant guest. He had his own house, Lintorno, near the site of the Certosa at Garignano, adjoining the boundary of Galeazzo's park. This country house gave him great pleasure. He describes its situation, on a small hill, with streams and meadows and flowers around. Petrarch's love of flowers is very marked; his poems abound in their praises, and he constantly in his descriptions of Laura speaks of her as crowned with violets: "Ever I see the green robe and the flower of violets, that Love was armed withal when first he conquered me." The birds and wild creatures of the countryside were also sources of enjoyment, and when he tired of these rural surroundings he would go off to visit friends in other places. Later he gave up his villa, and moved away to Arquà, but he spent his autumns as the guest of Galeazzo in the Castello, which he declared to be the most beautiful building in Europe. He had some experience of foreign capitals, for in 1360 he went to Paris to congratulate King John on his return from captivity in England, and to establish friendly relations between the king and Galeazzo in view of the betrothal of John's little daughter to Galeazzo's only son. He had also visited Prague when he went to see the Emperor Charles, who, indeed, begged him to come and reside at his Court. Petrarch however was faithful to Italy and returned to Milan. There in 1367 he was one of the honoured guests at Violante's wedding to Lionel of Clarence, and is mentioned as one of the few who sat at the chief table with the princes.

With Giangaleazzo he has few links. When the little

prince was eight years old he was told by his father to pick out the wisest man in the company, and at once ran across to Petrarch. A fresco in the Castello, now destroyed, represented this scene. Further, the device of Giangaleazzo—the white dove, with his motto "*à bon droit*"—was designed for him by the poet. In later years, probably after the fall of Padua, Giangaleazzo acquired many of the books from Petrarch's library, amongst them one of the most famous, the poet's own copy of Virgil, in which he had himself written the dates of his first meeting with Laura, her death, that of his son Giovanni, and those of his greatest friends.

During his long stay at Milan, Petrarch was engaged on many of his chief writings, and it is interesting to note what were the works of this period. The "*Canzoniere*," or lyrical poems, were written before 1353, but he worked on at them, and in 1358, while living at his Milanese house, he began a complete transcription of his Italian poems. The original manuscript, written in Petrarch's own handwriting, arranged and emended according to his final decision, still exists, and is in the Vatican library. He had gone through a great change of mind before coming to Italy, and his "conversion to God" naturally left a deep impress upon his writings. The "*Secretum*" is the record of the searchings of his own heart and life, told in the form of dialogues between himself and St. Augustine, with Truth to act as arbiter. The series of "*Trionfi*," begun in 1353, the year of his arrival in Milan, are really a history of Petrarch's love for Laura, his wanderings, and his conversion. Written in *terza-rima*, they consist of six "*Triumphs*"—of Love, Purity, Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity. The poet describes his vision. Led by a guide, whose personality is unknown to us, he sees the heroes of Biblical and classical and romantic days pass before him—Achilles and Jacob and Lancelot, and many more—until Laura herself appears. Her purity keeps his love unspotted, and she shows him other women whose virtues have given them undying fame—

Lucretia, Virginia, Judith, and others. They journey to Rome, just as Petrarch in real life had journeyed, until Death comes to claim his victory. The plague was then devastating Italy, and the country was full of "those once reckoned fortunate." Laura herself dies :

She was not pale, but whiter than the snow
That falls untouched by wind upon the hill . . .
Then that which fools call death appeared to be
Like a sweet slumber in her beauteous eyes,
And Death looked lovely in her lovely face."

(Trans. by N. E. JERROLD)

Then comes Fame, with a long procession of all who have attained it, followed by Time, which causes even Fame to vanish, and, at the last, Eternity. "To-morrow, yesterday, evening and morn, and then and now like shades shall pass away." The end of the poem was written at the end of Petrarch's life, and his last task was to complete the final stanzas. Besides this great poem he had many other works in hand. On crossing the Alps in 1353 he began his "Ode to the Lords of Italy," a plea for unity and peace. At Lintorno he composed his "Illustrious Men," and began to arrange all his Latin letters, both in prose and in verse, into their various collections. Later, at Arquà, he wrote a treatise "On the Best Method of Administering a State." He had not so much practical experience as Machiavelli, but his sojourn with the Visconti had given him a good deal of insight into the task of government and diplomacy, and it is interesting to notice that he emphasizes the need for moral qualities in the ruler and a firm adherence to moral principles in the work of the State. He died before his friend Galeazzo, in July, 1374, having by his vernacular poems helped forward the growth of Italian poetry, while in his humanist studies and writings he acted as precursor of the Renaissance itself.

Indeed, this aspect of his life seemed to his contemporaries the most important. Petrarch is the forerunner of the new learning, and his attitude towards letters is that of the modern man. He despised and ridiculed the schoolmen,

with their narrow views and methods. He loved antiquity and studied its works. His Latin writings, and especially his excellent "Letters" to such bygone characters as Cicero, Seneca, Homer, and Horace, were of immense value to the period. He studied ancient history and made it familiar to his disciples. Above all, he represented a different attitude towards letters. He was himself so many-sided that he readily set up a standard of general culture which is typical of the later Renaissance but which was unique in his day. His travels, his experiences, his wonderful library, all marked him out, and the universal admiration for his works gave an impetus to every Court and university in Italy. Though he knew so little Greek as to be unable to read the copy of Plato which he possessed, he yet realized the value of that language. He stood on the threshold of the revival of learning, and the greatness of his attainments helped to open the door for those who were so soon to follow.

Petrarch was of course the chief glory of the Visconti period; but many poets and writers of a lesser category found encouragement at the Courts of Milan and Pavia. As a great Ghibelline power Milan attracted all those who found life in Guelfic cities intolerable, and in addition the personal abilities of the Visconti drew men to their Court. Thus Fazio degli Uberti came from the Scaligers to Milan under Luchino, whom he praised as the "most just of all princes." He also admired Archbishop Giovanni, saying, "He is one who has comported himself so well that he has not his equal." With the accession of Galeazzo II and Bernabò came a great outburst of poetry. Uberti, who seems to have become a regular Court poet, in one of his *canzone* praises the brothers for their liberality, sincerity, and love of friends, but warns them against over-indulgence in the chase. Virgilio also sang their praises, and on the death of Galeazzo there was an outpouring of poetry in his honour. Braccio Bracci d'Arezzo said that a thousand pages would not suffice to celebrate his goodness :

E tant'era salita
 La buona fama sua, che monti e piani
 Gli porgevan le mani
 per soggiogarsi a sua gran signoria.

Bernabò's exploits were also commemorated; a long poem describes his defence of the Po against the League of 1353. Fire had been set to the fortifications and Bernabò had to quench it:

Ai valorosa Vipera gentile
 Per tua forza ollia mar gia navigasti!
 Ogni onda grossa a te pareva sottile,
 E per venta mai vela non calaste;
 Or ti convien, se mai virtù mostrati
 Ch'or la mostri, a che stanca
 Non ti trovi ma franca
 Chè al punto se' d'Italia dominare.

At every crisis the poets would urge him on to great deeds and further resistance, especially against the Papacy:

Far tremar la Chiesa e i suoi pastori,
 says one:

Però ti à Dio a tanto ben congionti
 Che mai non perdon fagilie, frutti e fiori.

On the other hand, the contest with the Visconti brought a sheaf of poems against them, notably from the pen of Sachetti, the Florentine writer. He made great play with the Viper crest, speaking of poison and the serpent, enemy of mankind. Yet though the poems were hostile, the *novelle* were friendly. Dati wrote many of the *novelle* in praise of Bernabò's rough justice, and Bracci spoke of his personal appearance: "With well-proportioned limbs and form straight as a dart, like unto a lion is your broad breast. You are so splendid in all human respects that other handsome men are as nothing beside you." The drama of Bernabò's fall naturally gave the writers their opportunity. The famous "Lament" is probably by various persons. It describes in the first person Bernabò's glory, his riches, his children, his victories over Pope and Emperor. Then the reverse of the medal: his plots and treachery towards Giangaleazzo, "soto un arbore fora della porta me misse ad aspetar lo mio desio." Giangaleazzo seizes his uncle:

Dican :—rendete, rendete signore ! . . .
Ma como stato fusse un traditore
A forza me meteven per la via.

Then comes the "Lament," his sorrow for his sins and repentance. He turns to Christ and thus will escape the pains of hell despite all his evil doings. One part of the poem describes Donnina dei Porri, who is wrongly said to be taken from him. Bernabò dies, and his prayer to be buried in Milan is granted by the triumphant Giangaleazzo. The poem is contemporary and told in a vivid, clear way which makes it extremely effective and accounts for its great popularity amongst the peasants and poorer classes, who appreciated the drama as well as the ballad.

Giangaleazzo's career lent itself equally well to verse. Many of the poets celebrated his greatness in worthless eulogies, such as those of Bracci who calls him "a saint sent to be our lord"; and Vanozzo the Venetian, who prophesies glory and victory and a crown. In one of his poems Vanozzo describes all the cities of the north, praising their new lord, even Venice offering him her passes and Florence welcoming his rule, "because it will give us peace." Indeed, the idea that he is to be welcomed as the saviour of Italy is prominent. Vincentino Lorchi greets him as one who will bring unity and peace, and so do many of the anonymous writers. Italy hoped much from the Emperor Charles, and when his expeditions failed so hopelessly the poets showed their bitter disappointment. Petrarch, Uberti, and Beccaria di Ferrara all abuse him: "The eagle has left and his glory has passed to the viper." The patriotism that had upheld Bernabò in his contest with the foreign Papacy saw in Giangaleazzo a greater hope for the future. Every poet in turn emphasized the trend of thought; Alberto Alfieri even said that in five years Giangaleazzo would have conquered Italy, and in ten Europe. Florence, hostile and afraid, poured out curses upon him and declared herself the champion of Italy against

the tyrant. With his sudden death all these political songs died away. They revived for a short while when Filippo Maria restored the power of the Duchy, and poets wrote again :

Chi chiama notte e dia
Da ca' Visconti o Filippo Maria.

But with the death of the greatest of the Visconti any hopes for union had passed, and soon the era of foreign invasion made Italy's state too desperate to be remedied even by the methods advocated by Machiavelli. Political poems were never of much artistic value, though interesting, and with the Renaissance a far wider field opened before the writers. For during the lifetime of the later Visconti the era of the "New Learning" had dawned. Petrarch had shown what a knowledge of Latin could mean ; and now with the early Humanists came a complete change in education and letters. Greek was an unknown tongue in Italy ; not one person could speak the ancient language, nor translate the classical authors. Then in 1397 the Greek scholar Chrysoloras came to Florence and began to lecture. Three years later he was induced to leave Florence and come to Pavia, where he became a professor at the famous university. Since the ninth century there had been a law-school at Pavia, but under Visconti patronage this had become a great university. Galeazzo II had given endowments and compelled all his subjects to send their scholarly sons to study there. There were now 140 professors, with chairs in the various branches of learning. The Arts course consisted of grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, philosophy, and the further course went on to theology, law, and medicine. While the plague raged the university had to be removed to Piacenza, but in 1404 it returned to Pavia, and Filippo Maria gave money to help in reopening the buildings and the other expenses of the fresh start. The old buildings were used, the present ones dating from time of Il Moro, who rebuilt the university in its entirety.

Scholars came from all parts of the world to study under

the new methods. Men of middle age willingly sat side by side with young boys in order to learn from Chrysoloras the secrets of the forgotten language. The whole tone of education changed. Hitherto the schoolmen and ecclesiastics had taught along their narrow lines, and a very restricted type of knowledge resulted. The chief distinction of the Humanists was that they studied, on modern critical lines, ancient literature and history, in order to revive the knowledge of that earlier civilization. They treated letters as the best means of training character ; they considered learning as a true preparation for life. Vergerius wrote, " No wealth, no possible security against the future, can be compared with the gift of an education in grave and liberal studies—those studies by which we attain and practise virtue and wisdom, that education which calls forth and develops those highest gifts of body and mind which ennoble men."

The wonderful school of Vittorino da Feltre at Mantua showed what education could be. There, in a beautiful house, the boys entrusted to his care lived an ideal life. Games and outdoor exercise had their part, but the lessons were made as attractive as possible. All were encouraged to learn, but those who had no special aptitude were not pressed, for " nature has not endowed all with the taste for study," and corporal punishment was rare. Even little children of five years were taught to read, by movable letters, and arithmetic was made easy by games. Girls as well as boys shared these advantages and showed great aptitude. Cecilia Gonzaga was one of Vittorino's favourite pupils, and we are told she was learning Greek with great rapidity at the age of seven. Most Humanists indeed believed that intellectual training made women better wives and mothers. Classics, both Greek and Latin, history and ethics, were all taught to girls, though some authors, such as Juvenal, were considered unsuitable. Mathematics and astrology were thought less helpful. Bruni d'Arezzo, writing on women's education, says, " History must not be

neglected on any account, for it is our duty to understand our own origin and development. . . . With poetry and the poets every educated lady must show herself thoroughly familiar. . . . The subtleties of arithmetic and geometry need not absorb you—rhetoric in all its forms—public discussion, forensic argument—lies outside the province of woman.” It might be thought that girls educated on these these lines would be nothing but “blue-stockings.” On the contrary, they made excellent wives and mothers. Some, such as Battista di Montefeltro, were famous for their needlework and beloved for their charity; others, like Isotta Nogarola and Cecilia Gonzaga, famed for their scholarship, turned to religion and took the veil. Many, as the wives of the rulers of the smaller States, helped to form the Courts where the glories of the Renaissance found their home.

In this new era Pavia, as the centre of modern ideas, played a great part. The university was one of the most famous in Europe, and the Visconti encouraged the new tendencies. Having secured Chrysoloras they went on to tempt other scholars to settle in the city. Thus, not content with having the only native Greek professor, Pavia also obtained the services of Filelfo, who, together with Guarino and Aurispa alone amongst Italians, could write and speak Greek. Filelfo was one of the greatest scholars of the time, and he succeeded in bringing to Pavia another famous man, Gaza of Salonica. Gaza wrote the best Greek grammar known to the Renaissance, and the one which Erasmus selected when he introduced Greek to Cambridge. He was also the best copyist of his day, and the Greek manuscripts which he produced were sought after as priceless treasures. Pier Candido Decembrio was another Greek scholar who lived at the Visconti Court, being indeed the friend and biographer of Filippo Maria. The duke made it one of his hobbies to acquire Greek manuscripts for the Visconti library, and as scholars were allowed free access to the collection and given permission to copy, Pavia became one

of the chief distributing centres of the new learning. Besides all this interest in Greek there was a corresponding development in the study of Latin. Barzizza was the greatest grammarian and Latinist of the day, and in 1422 he also was induced to settle at Pavia. He revived the study of Cicero, and in the year of his arrival a great discovery was made, when the first complete text of "De Oratore" was found at Lodi. It was sent at once to Barzizza, who for years had been lecturing on the works of Cicero and whose enthusiasm over this manuscript knew no bounds. Other eminent professors at that time were Negri the lawyer and Marsilio of Santa Sofia. In the bounds of the small city were gathered an extraordinary number of famous scholars and teachers, and it is not to be wondered at that men came from all parts of Europe to study under them. A monument to Catone Sacco shows him, in his flat biretta, like that worn by Tudor bishops, lecturing to a crowd of young men. Foreign universities sent one or more of their best and most promising scholars to take a course at Pavia, and the ruling princes sent their sons to complete their education. Thus we find amongst the students Francesco della Rovere, later Pope Sixtus IV, and Ludovico, the heir of the Gonzagas, side by side with "Tommaso d'Inghilterra," whose place of origin is not further defined.

While Filippo Maria plotted and fought for the reconstitution of his father's State, Pavia became the home of learned men, living their quiet, studious lives, lecturing in the schools and writing the books which were the foundation of later scholarship. Alike to the men of letters and to the rulers whose pleasures lay in promoting art and literature at their Court, the university town was the starting point from which fresh knowledge and new ideals radiated. "Where letters cease," wrote Æneas Sylvius, "darkness covers the land," and conversely from the places where they flourished light streamed out. From Pavia in the early fifteenth century scholars went forth, not only to the different

parts of Italy, but across the Alps to all parts of Europe, bearing the learning they had acquired as gifts to all people.

Turning from letters to art, the distinction of the period lies in ecclesiastical architecture. Painting was only just receiving the stimulus of Giotto's work, and the artist who celebrated the glories of the Visconti, Borgognone, began his career after the Visconti themselves had passed away. Though many artists were employed on the decoration of the Castello their work did not survive, and under Francesco Sforza the frescoes were all repainted. In architecture, however, the Visconti have earned fame by their patronage of two of the most celebrated buildings in Italy—the Duomo of Milan and the Certosa of Pavia. Both are unique in their own way, and both owe their erection to Giangaleazzo.

The Duomo at Milan was built on the site of an earlier church, Sta Maria Maggiore. Possibly the great Castello di Porta Giovia and the new Visconti buildings near the piazza or Arengo made the old church look too small and insignificant. In any case, Giangaleazzo in 1387 declared that he was moved to "add to the glory" of the Blessed Virgin, and it was decided to erect a magnificent cathedral. There is some evidence that a new church was contemplated in any case, for when Giangaleazzo applied to the Pope for the jubilee offering in 1390 he did not state that he himself had actually founded the Duomo. The idea of building a great pile worthy of his capital must however be attributed to him, for he took the deepest interest in the plans, endowed the funds, and indeed by his choice of architects decided upon the form the church should take. The defects of a foreign style and the whole idea of a Gothic building are attributed to him and his predilection for foreign artists, and this shows that he was indeed the originator of the vast project. When the scheme was first contemplated it was decided that the new church should be the largest in Europe, and even now it is only surpassed by St. Peter's and by Seville Cathedral. It was not to be built of the brick which

Lombardy used in general, but of granite, encrusted with panels of marble throughout, the material to be obtained from the great quarries on Lake Maggiore. It was clear that such a vast undertaking would need the most careful organization, and this Giangaleazzo saw to himself. In 1387 it was decided that all "acts relating to the Duomo" should be written in a book, and thus the "Annales della Fabbrica" exist to-day, complete from the beginning, recording all the persons connected with the work, the payments, the disputes, and the progress made. A committee was formed consisting of fifty citizens, chosen from each of the districts of the city by the Vicar and Twelve of the Provvisione, the Vicar himself ex officio, two knights, eleven jurists, ten clerics, two notaries, six engineers, and six builders. The marble for the structure had to be transported by water, and for this purpose the duke opened the canal of Viarena, which passed by Romano, and San Celso. At Brolio he made a special reservoir, and there the blocks were cut and shaped. The water which was required on the actual site was brought from the Ticino and the Adda.

The first man to be appointed as chief engineer and architect was Simone da Orsenigo, and with him thirteen others were associated, including Bonino, Marco, and Jacopo da Campione, Zeno and Ponzzone. Most of these were members of the famous building guild known as the *Magistri Comacini*, and to them the design of the building is usually attributed. Giangaleazzo, however, had a great opinion of foreign artists, and imported two notable men to assist in giving their ideas. These were Heinrich of Gmuden and Nicolas Bonaventura of Paris, Nicolas being made chief engineer in 1388. He received a salary of ten florins a month and remained in his post for eight years, till the Armagnac expedition made the French unpopular. Heinrich seems to have been more of a consulting expert, for he only stayed five months, being paid fifteen florins, with lodging, wine, and wood. When Bonaventura left, Simone da

Orsenigo returned and at once sent to Venice and Monza for fresh assistants. Other Germans came, such as Hans of Fernach and John of Freiburg, and men from Ulm, Bruges, Paris, and Prague, all attracted by the report of the great work. None remained long, for they could never agree with the local men, who, in the inevitable quarrels and disputes, always carried the day and won the support of the committee. Once a great uproar arose over the dismissal of Ulrich of Frisinga and Mignot of Paris. These two had criticized the plans and declared the building unsafe. They were routed by the Italians, who insisted all was perfectly sound, and the two foreigners were dismissed. They had, however, made an impression on some of the citizens, for a protest against the dismissal was got up, but produced no effect. The expenses were enormous, and were provided for by regular offerings made in the churches each week and set apart by the Act of 1387. Extra funds came in through the jubilee, when owing to the plague pilgrims could not go to Rome, and the Pope, at Giangaleazzo's request, allowed a proportion of the offerings to go to the Duomo. Giangaleazzo himself gave large endowments, as well as handing over the marble quarries to the *Fabbrica*, and many citizens followed his example. Exemption from certain taxes was granted by the duke to such benefactors. Different wards of the city vied with each other in raising money, and there seems to have been no difficulty in this respect. Besides engineers, architects, and the army of workmen employed on the actual building, there were all those employed at the quarries. Contracts were made for the cutting of the marble and granite, but the question of wages always gave trouble. In 1390 the payment was fixed at five soldi a day, with wine, bread, and the repairing of all tools. In 1407 we hear that all salaries are raised owing to the increase of the cost of living. Labour-saving devices were also introduced, and we hear of a machine for cutting the marble blocks, which was worked by a horse and did

the work formerly done by four men. When the walls and pillars were rising rapidly, other items began to be thought of. In 1405 the sacristy was paved with red marble, and a dispute arose over the cost of the new organ, the matter being eventually referred to arbitration. Brocade for hangings and frontals was ordered and paid for by the offerings of certain days. The glass for the windows, which, unlike that of most Italian churches, is stained, was made by Antonio Monaco di Cortona, by Michelino da Besozzo and by Nicolo da Venezia. Giangaleazzo did not live to see more than the first few years of building, but by Filippo Maria's death a good deal had been done, and the Pope when he visited Milan in 1419 dedicated the high altar.

The cathedral thus begun became one of the most famous in the world, and indeed it is one of the most remarkable. Though the work of so many different men, and of different ages, for it was not actually completed till Napoleon's day, it yet has a unity which makes it harmonious in itself. The criticism which has brought it into disfavour in modern days is directed at the over-elaboration of the exterior, and the incongruity of a Gothic style in Italy. As to the elaboration every one must agree. The regular forest of pinnacles and statues, the pierced pediments, flying buttresses, the crockets and spires are overwhelming. Where admirers used to see a beauty like that of lace, the critical eye now sees only a resemblance to the ornamental icing of a wedding cake. Yet, even so, the Duomo can look very beautiful. When dusk is falling and the mass of detail is softened and hidden, the white marble glimmers across the Piazza, the lines of the building come out, and looking up, one has an impression of grace and delicacy and real loveliness.

As to the interior, all are united in the wonderful effect it produces. The vastness is not overwhelming; indeed the building does not appear as vast as it really is, but it does create a feeling of awe and solemnity. The great nave,

with its four side aisles, is empty, free from the chairs and pews which spoil our English cathedrals. Thus the floor space is unbroken, save for the great pillars which rise up, row after row, stretching up to the mistiness of the vaulted roof. The church is full of twilight and great spaces, quite different from the sunniness and colour of most Italian churches, and it is to this that it owes its real claim upon admiration. The very plainness of the interior shows Gothic at its best, and whatever charges can be brought against the ornamentation outside, they are silenced here. The walls and pillars have a beautiful mellow colour, due to the tint of the exquisite marble. There are no frescoes and few tombs, for most of those erected here were removed after the decree of the Council of Trent. The early Visconti were buried in various churches of Milan and Pavia. Giangaleazzo meant the Certosa to be the mausoleum of those who came after, and the Sforzas chose their own resting-places. Along the northern aisle of the nave there are two or three very simple monuments, one of which is that of the two Archbishops Ottone and Giovanni. It consists of a plain, red, marble sarcophagus, with a long epitaph incised on it and a recumbent figure, but the whole is mounted on such tall pillars that in the dim light it is impossible to make out the inscription.

Whether Giangaleazzo would have approved of the completed building one cannot say, but it remains a wonderful testimony to the man who planned it and the citizens who made its completion their task.

More marvellous still is the Certosa of Pavia, which is recognized as one of the great monuments of Italy. Many pass through Milan as a railway centre and never realize that within a few miles is one of the most extraordinary buildings of Europe. The Certosa (Charter-house) was founded by Giangaleazzo in response to the wishes of his wife Caterina, so Corio says. Caterina was expecting the birth of her second child, and begged her husband, in the

event of her death to carry out her vow and build a monastery for twelve brethren of the Charter-house. Caterina lived, but Giangaleazzo determined to fulfil the project, and the result is the Certosa we see to-day. As the work was to be that of the Visconti, and the monastery church, when completed, their burial place, a situation was chosen which suited the duke's purpose, though it seems a peculiar site to modern travellers unaware of its origin. Giangaleazzo's chief residence was Pavia, and behind the Castello stretched the great park. Just outside its wall the duke chose the site amongst the flat, fertile meadows and near the straight white road and great canal leading to Milan. The Carthusians preferred lonely sites, and thus the remoteness of the situation would be quite satisfactory to them. Their communities were usually small, twelve brethren and a prior being the number in the earliest foundations. In 1394 he began to make arrangements and drew up deeds for the endowment, but the real work began in 1396. He then bestowed a revenue of no less than 7,000 florins on the community, which was now to consist of the prior and twenty-four brethren. Workmen began to dig the foundations in July, and a month later the ceremony of laying the foundation stone took place. The duke came with his retinue from the Castello, accompanied by Giovanni Maria and Gabriele. Four stones were laid—one by the duke, one by each son, and one by Barbarava, possibly in the name of the baby Filippo Maria. The whole scene is beautifully represented on one of the panels of the bronze doors executed a hundred years later. As in the case of the Duomo, a number of architects were employed. The administrator of the works was Galeas da Pegi, and Giovanni Confalonieri was treasurer. The chief architect was Bernardo da Venezia, and to him probably the chief share in the design is due. He had others to assist him, amongst them Giacomo da Campione, Giovanino da Grassi, and Marco da Carona. Bernardo seems to have acted as head

of the building corps, Giacomo da Campione was consulting engineer, and Cristoforo da Beltramo working engineer. The Carthusians actually lived on the spot in temporary quarters, though their cells and cloisters were amongst the earliest parts completed. In 1401 Giangaleazzo took the decisive step of handing over the administration to the prior, who now became official head of the enterprise, controlled the funds, and made all appointments. It was fortunate that this was done, for the duke's unexpected death in the next year left the government in confusion and might have produced most disastrous results for the Certosa. As it was, all went well. By his will Giangaleazzo left further very large sums to the community, which became one of the wealthiest in Italy, and his sons, and later the Sforzas, not only saw that these revenues were secured to the monks, but added to them. The existence of these great endowments influenced the character of the building. The revenues were to be spent on the structure until it was completed, and only then were the funds to be used for charitable distributions. Successive priors preferred to beautify and enrich their church as far as was possible, and hence the extraordinary richness of the façade and decorations which are the chief marvel of the place.

When the first prior took over the administration he appointed a fresh engineer, Antonio da Crema, whose report on the building shows its progress. Three sides of the great cloister were complete, together with the sacristy and refectory, and the walls were rising very rapidly in the church. By 1409 payment was being made for lead for the roofs, and ten years later Martin V visited Pavia expressly to inspect the Certosa. In 1428 the chapter-house and library were complete, and work was being done on the beautiful panelling of the refectory. In the next year the great gates of the cloister and the church were finished and the frescoes in the sacristy completed. The plan of the church itself had originally resembled that of the Duomo ;

indeed, Heinrich of Gmuden and François Mignot had come over from Milan to advise. There was to be a central nave with an aisle on each side, but the bays of the central aisle were to be square, those of the side oblong. The transepts had rounded apses, and so had the choir. Later men added the famous chapels, designed by Solari after Lombard ideas, fourteen in number, which are placed outside the side aisles and which therefore altered the original design for the exterior considerably, and led to the abandonment of the idea of flying buttresses. The nave was completed by 1466, and the fact that the foundations were all laid and lower courses begun under Giangaleazzo compelled the architects whom Sforza employed to keep to the original plan in so far as pillars and walls were concerned. The general effect is much more Italian than that of the Duomo. Sforza completed the choir and transepts, and the façade and cupola were not designed until 1473 and 1490. There exist, however, pictures which show us the early ideas of these two important parts. In Giangaleazzo's day it would have been of course impossible to imagine the extremely ornate Renaissance façade, and yet there is a similarity between the early plan and the later execution. In Borgognone's fresco in the apse of the Certosa Giangaleazzo is represented holding a model of the building. There we see a façade with the big rose window above the door, the long windows on each side, and the pinnacles which terminate each wing. The chief difference is that the old Lombardic gable shown in Borgognone's fresco was rejected by the Renaissance artists, who added an open gallery of arches and surmounted the whole by a heavy cornice. In this way too they added to the height, for in the pictures the roofs of the transepts rise a good deal above the façade, not very satisfactorily, and the cupola is also a good deal higher than the actual one completed in the sixteenth century. The present façade perhaps does not give us a proper idea of the real age of the main structure, but the side views, with the

tall, delicate lines of the choir, and the simple rounded transepts, all built in the old Lombard deep rose brick, give a totally different impression, and one nearer to the ideas of the founder. Within there is nothing that can be claimed for Visconti days. The Certosa is almost bewildering in its richness. Every inch of surface seems decorated, either with medallions and mouldings of terra cotta, or inlay or fresco. Every one of the fourteen chapels is covered, both walls and roof, with frescoes, mostly by famous artists; each one has its beautiful altar piece by Borgognone, or Perugino, or Luini; each has a gorgeous altar, inlaid, some with lapis lazuli, cornelian, coral, gold, and silver, some with mosaics of coloured marbles, and with crucifix and candlesticks of equally precious workmanship and materials. The chapels are separated from the nave by grilles, highly ornamented and gilded, and very beautiful gates also separate the transepts from both nave and choir. When the Carthusians were still here, women might not enter either chapels or transepts or choir; only the nave was open to them, and each chapel has a communicating door, so that the monks could pass from one to another without entering the nave. It is impossible to take it all in, and much of the beauty can scarcely be realized because of its excess. In the northern transept the apse contains Borgognone's fresco of the Sforza family, and beneath lies the monument to Il Moro and Beatrice d'Este. In the southern transept is the same artist's fresco of the Visconti, and beneath is Giangaleazzo's tomb. The fresco was painted some time after 1474, and Borgognone is said to have taken the likenesses from portraits in the Castello. Giangaleazzo is always unmistakable, on coins or in illuminated manuscripts, or in frescoes, with his strongly marked features and little jutting beard. Certainly the head of the recumbent figure on the tomb is very striking. There is a strength and firmness of line which are very arresting, and even did not one know his history one would feel that this

was the representation of a great and remarkable man. The tomb itself is in late Renaissance style, very ornate, with bas reliefs showing scenes from the duke's life, and figures surrounding. Beneath the canopy is the urn-shaped sarcophagus, which actually contains his bones. He had ordered in his will that his body should be laid in the Certosa, but the structure was not sufficiently advanced for this to be done until 1474, and the tomb, the work of Romano, was not finished until 1497, the year in which the church was finally consecrated. Isabella rests with her husband, her body being moved there at the request of the French king in 1510. Apparently from De Commynes's account the visitor used to be able to open the lid of the coffin and inspect the remains, but once the marble figure was in place this could not be possible. When Napoleon's troops under Berthier sacked Pavia in 1799 they rifled the church, but it is now thought they did not open the tomb, which shows no signs of ever having been broken open. When the tomb was officially inspected in 1899 Giangaleazzo's sword and spurs, and a strange vase, enamelled with the viper in very bold design, were found there. The body of the man which it contained, wrapped in the remnants of a purple toga, was then identified as that of Giangaleazzo, being remarkable for its size and for the red-gold hair and beard which had retained their colour. In the library there are other memorials of the duke, in the illuminated graduals, which contain miniatures of scenes from his life, and one well-known medallion portrait, showing excellently his high forehead and jutting nose, the whole framed in laurel and supported by Cupids. Beyond the library the corridor leads out into the cloisters, perhaps the most beautiful, and certainly the most appealing, part of the whole Certosa. The "little cloister" or "fountain cloister" consists of an arcade running round a small, formal garden, with flower beds surrounded by clipped box edgings, and in the middle a little fountain with dolphins,

and a child sitting on a swan. The sun streams down into this quiet little garden and the terra cotta glows with the brightest and loveliest red, contrasting sharply with the white-washed walls of the cloister itself. There is nothing more delightful in Italy, unless it is the "great" cloister beyond, work on which was carried well forward by the date of Giangaleazzo's death. Here are the little dwellings of the twenty-four brethren. The Carthusian rule had laid down that each brother should have his separate dwelling, with three rooms—bedroom and oratory, living-room, and workshop—and a little garden attached. The monks lived in solitude and silence, only meeting for services in the chapel on Sundays and feast-days and on those days also for meals taken in common in the refectory. The small, picturesque cottages, for that is what they resemble, are spaced out round the large quadrangle, and in the midst is the wide stretch of turf, with the flat stones that mark each brother's grave. Certainly it is a most peaceful and beautiful place, and the brother is scarcely to be wondered at who said their patron Giangaleazzo must surely be held a saint to have given such surroundings to these men of God.

Besides these great memorials to the Visconti patronage of art, there is not very much left of their period. The Castello at Pavia is in structure a good example of their domestic architecture, but it is only an empty shell. The court has arches enriched by terra cotta, and the wide windows, which are the original ones, are rather surprising, for they show how light and air were thought of rather than fortification and defence. In Milan itself the campanile of San Gottardo is a very early Visconti building, erected by Azzo. It was part of the buildings included in the first Visconti palace and is all that now remains of them. In the church to which it belonged Giovanni Maria was assassinated. Here Azzo and Luchino were buried, and Giovanni Maria lay dead beside them. All Italian towns have these charming towers, but San Gottardo is exceptional.

Lombardy indeed shows what brick-work can be. Usually only quite coarse, rough bricks are used, but for doorways and windows, and sometimes cornices, a finer clay was employed and thinner bricks of a deeper red. These bricks were cut and rubbed into the shape required for cusped windows and cornices, and though the patterns are usually very simple they are very effective. With the bright sunshine of Italy every line and shadow shows up hard and clear, and thus very simple cornices produce definite results and serve to break up flat expanses in a way which would be impossible if more elaborate methods were employed. Plainness of design and simplicity of material characterize the buildings of the period, and they owe their beauty partly to this and partly to the colouring of the brick.

The Visconti have no beautiful tombs, such as those which commemorate the Scaligers of Verona. Indeed, their burial-places are very scattered, and they lie in many different towns. Matteo I was not buried in Milan, but at Monza, where he died. Galeazzo I was also buried in a distant town, Lucca. Azzo has his tomb in San Gottardo, with a recumbent figure showing his curly hair and beard, but of no great artistic merit. Archbishop Giovanni has his plain tomb in the Duomo. Matteo II was buried in San Eustorgio. Galeazzo's tomb and that of his wife Bianca in San Pietro in Cielo in Pavia, and that of Lionel of Clarence, who was buried there also, have been destroyed. Bernabò and Regina were buried at San Giovanni in Conca, and parts of their tomb are in the museum at the Castello, together with the great equestrian statue of Bernabò by Bonino da Campione. Gian Maria was buried in the Duomo, but there is no trace of his tomb. Giangaleazzo's monument, of much later date, is in the Certosa, and no monument exists to Filippo Maria, who was buried in the Duomo.

Nor do many other examples of Viscontean art remain. A few pieces of silversmith's work are to be found, such as the chalice at Monza, given by Giangaleazzo, and the pax of

Filippo Maria at San Ambrogio. Most beautiful are the rare illuminated manuscripts, such as the famous "Missal" of Giangaleazzo in San Ambrogio. Here we have a series of little miniatures showing the coronation of the duke. Another wonderful book is the "Office" of Giangaleazzo, which contains some of the most lovely miniatures and portraits imaginable. A Milanese manuscript of this period in the British Museum—a book of hours—shows very delicate borders with strawberries, pimpernels, butterflies, and grasshoppers, while another has bears, centaurs, and owls, all most exquisitely painted. Another interesting reminder of the family achievements is to be found in the old castle of Angera, built by Ottone and Giovanni. Here is a series of very early frescoes, showing the exploits of Ottone, his victory at Desio, his triumphant entry into Milan, and with a splendid picture of Napo della Torre and his downfall. Ottone appears as a monk, contrasting most effectively with Napo, whose black head-dress and attire give him quite the appearance of the villain.

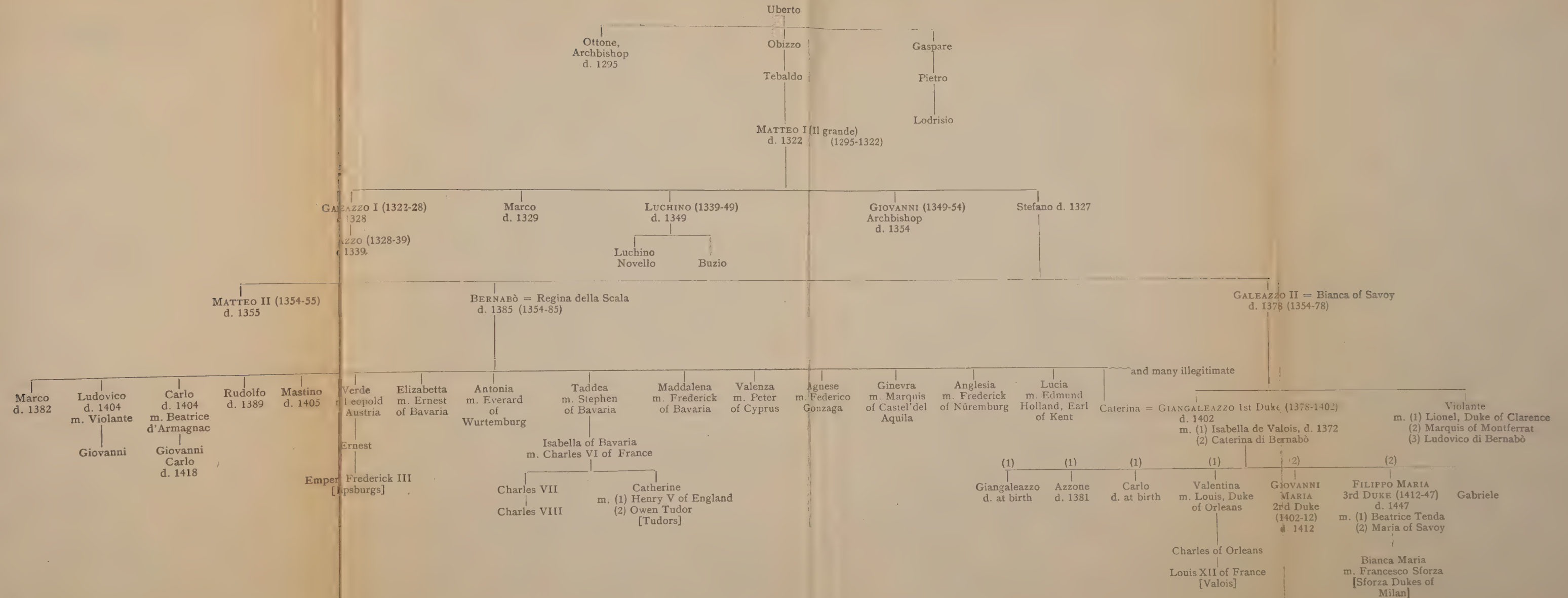
One other memorial of the period remains in their beautiful coins, examples of each ruler existing, the British Museum having a complete collection. Azzo's have no crest, only the cross of the commune. Giovanni's have various emblems—an eagle, St. Ambrose, and the twin saints Cosmo and Damien. Luchino and Giovanni have a very fine design, on both gold and silver coins—a large dragon winged and swallowing a child with a very small "Visconti" viper beneath. Giovanni used the viper only on the denaro. Matteo II is commemorated by a sesino with the viper, and other coins of that brief interlude of joint rule bear the initials of all three brothers—Matteo, Bernabò, and Galeazzo. Bernabò and Galeazzo have really beautiful coins. Their gold florin has a very finely executed helmet, surmounted by the viper and child, and the viper combined with an eagle. Galeazzo's separate coinage has the viper and his device of a burning brand with two

MILAN UNDER THE VISCONTI

buckets, and another design represents a very fine warrior on horseback. It should be noted that the viper, which appears on the caparisons of this horse, turns to the right, i.e. its jaws are on the right, as in the old brazen serpent of San Ambrogio, while in all the other cases it is to the left, coinciding with the change in the viper crest. Giangaleazzo in his beautiful gold florin retains this warrior, but in place of his father's special device he has the helmet and viper used by Bernabò. In 1395 the first and only portrait coin of the Visconti appears with an excellent head of Giangaleazzo, issued in honour of his coronation, which took place that year. Filippo Maria used the same device of the warrior on his gold coins, but on the silver has the eagle and viper. Giovanni Maria had the viper and St. Ambrose. Francesco Sforza retained the warrior on horseback, but on the other side inserted his crest of the viper and eagle. These coins are beautiful things, both in their striking and lovely designs and also in the high standard of workmanship they display. The period was strictly too early for the medals which are so great a feature of Italian art, but Filippo Maria lived in the age of Pisanello, and employed him. The result is the celebrated portrait medal of the duke, examples of which exist both in the British Museum and in the Salting collection at the Victoria and Albert. The same artist also produced the splendid portrait medals of Alfonso of Aragon, Filippo's one-time prisoner, and of Pier Candido Decembrio, his friend and biographer.

Thus, though what is left to us from Visconti days is scanty in some particulars, we yet have enough to realize the beauty which filled their Court. Frescoes, manuscripts, coins, old brocades, can still show us what their eyes looked upon. Giangaleazzo's palace, his library full of books, his daughter's clothes and jewels can be evoked by the fragmentary possessions which remain. How beautiful they were our eyes can tell us, and our imagination can call up those bygone days when the Visconti themselves lived and moved amongst their treasures.

THE VISCONTI OF MILAN (1295-1447)



LIST OF AUTHORITIES

" Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo "	-	-	-	Milan, 1877
<i>Archivio Storico Lombardo</i> :—				
Agnelli, G. " Lodi e i Visconti "	-	-	-	1901
Biscaro, G. " I Maggiori dei Visconti "	-	-	-	1911
" " I Visconti e la Chiesa "	-	-	-	1919
" " Dante Alighieri e i sortilegi di Matteo e Galeazzo Visconti "	-	-	-	1920
Cantu, C. " Giangaleazzo Visconti "	-	-	-	1887
Capasso, C. " I provvisionati di Bernabò "	-	-	-	1911
Gognasso Fr. " L'Alleanza Sabauda-Viscontea contra Montferrat "	-	-	-	1915
" " L'Alleanza Sabauda-Viscontea contra Venezia "	-	-	-	1918
Comani, F. E. " Regina della Scala "	-	-	-	1902
Fрати, L. " La congiura contra Giovanni da Oleggio "	-	-	-	1893
" " La Storia del governo Visconteo in Bologna "	-	-	-	1889
" " Giangaleazzo e la guerra contra Mantova "	-	-	-	1887
" " Firenze e Bologna contra Giangaleazzo "	-	-	-	1889
Ghinzoni, P. " Il teatro "	-	-	-	1887
Medin, A. " I Visconti nella Poesia contemporanea "	1891	&	1896	
Motta, E. " La corte Sforzesca "	-	-	-	1887
Neri e. " I due Piccinino "	-	-	-	1887
Novati, F. " Giovanni da Oleggio "	-	-	-	1903
" " Petrarca e la Lombardia "	-	-	-	1904
Orioli, E. " Matteo Visconti e Bologna "	-	-	-	1899
Romano, G. " Documenti Viscontea "	-	-	-	1889
" " Giangaleazzo Visconti "	-	-	-	1889
" " Giangaleazzo e gli eredi di Bernabò "	-	-	-	1891
" " I Pavesi e Matteo e Galeazzo "	-	-	-	1889
" " I Visconti e la Sicilia "	-	-	-	1896
" " La ducata su Filippo Maria "	-	-	-	1896
" " La prima spedizione Italiana di Carlo IV "	-	-	-	1895
" " Lucia Visconti e la rovina di Bernabò "	-	-	-	1893
" " Milano e Carrara nel 1402 "	-	-	-	1891
" " Un Matrimonio all' corte de' Visconti "	-	-	-	1891
Seregni, G. " I disegni federali di Bernabò "	-	-	-	1911
Sighinolfi, L. " Giovanni da Oleggio "	-	-	-	1902
Tarducci, Fr. " I Visconti contra Venezia "	-	-	-	1899
" " L'Alleanza Visconti-Gonzaga "	-	-	-	1899
Vannozzo, F. " L'Eta di Giangaleazzo "	-	-	-	1889
Verga, E. " Un caso di conoscenza di Filippo Maria Visconti "	-	-	-	1919
" " Carlo Visconti "	-	-	-	1901
" " Le sentenze criminali del Podestà Milanese "	-	-	-	1901
Vitale, V. " Bernabò nella no. ella e nella cronaca "	-	-	-	1911
Volta, Z. " Giangaleazzo Visconti "	-	-	-	1889
Zoja, G. " Nota intorno alle ossa di Giangaleazzo "	-	-	-	1895

Azario.	"Storia di Milano (Muratori)"	-	-	-	-	1895
Beltrami.	"La Certosa di Pavia"	-	-	-	-	1894
"	"Il Castello di Milano"	-	-	-	-	
"	"L'Arte della Lombardia"	-	-	-	-	
Bonfadini.	"Storia di Milano"	-	-	-	-	1883
Brown, H.	"Venetian Studies"	-	-	-	-	1907
Calthrop, C. Holloway.	"Petrarch, his Life and Times"	-	-	-	-	1907
Chuquet, A.	"Episodes et Portraits" (3rd Series)	-	-	-	-	
Cibrario, G. A. L.	"Studi Storici (Degli amori e della morte d'Agnese Gonzaga)"	-	-	-	-	1891
"	"Scritti Varii. Agnese e Francesco Gonzaga"	-	-	-	-	1868
Cipolla.	"Storia delle signorie Italiane"	-	-	-	-	1881
Collas, Emile.	"Valentina Visconti"	-	-	-	Paris	1911
Corio.	"Storia di Milano"	-	-	-	ed.	1855
Dati (Goro).	"Novelle intorno a Bernabò Visconti"	-	-	-	-	
Decembrio, P. C.	"Filippo Maria Visconti" (Muratori)	-	-	-	-	
Ferrai, L. A.	"Giangaleazzo e i Valois" (Arch. Ital.)	-	-	-	-	1898
Faucon.	"Marriage de Valentina Visconti" (Archives des Miss.)	-	-	-	-	
Foresti, A.	"Viaggio di Petrarca" (Arch. Ital.)	-	-	-	-	1920
Gauthiez, P.	"Milan"	-	-	-	-	1905
Giulini.	"Memorie della città di Milano"	-	-	-	-	1856
Jackson, T. G.	"Gothic Architecture in Italy"	-	-	-	-	
"	"Byzantine and Romanesque Art"	-	-	-	-	
Jarry, E.	"Louis de France, duc d'Orleans"	-	-	-	-	1889
"	"Les origines de la domination française à Gênes"	-	-	-	-	1896
"	"Voie de fait" (Ec. des Chartes)	-	-	-	-	1892
Jerrold, M. E.	"Petrarch, Poet and Humanist"	-	-	-	-	
Leader, John Temple.	"Sir John Hawkwood"	-	-	-	-	1889
Litta, P.	"Celebri Famiglie Italiane"	-	-	-	-	1839
Machiavelli.	"Discorsi" (Bk. II)	-	-	-	-	
Magenta, C.	"I Visconti nel castello di Pavia"	-	-	-	-	1883
"	"La Certosa di Pavia"	-	-	-	-	
"Mercanti delle medicevæ"	(Arch. Lomb.)	-	-	-	-	1901
Michel, André.	"Le procès de Matteo Visconti Mélanges d'archéologie"	-	-	-	-	1909
"	"Le procès des Visconti Mélanges d'histoire"	-	-	-	-	1920
Morbio, C.	"Codice Visconteo"	-	-	-	-	1846
Noyes, E.	"Story of Milan" (Mediaeval Town Series)	-	-	-	-	
"Repertorio Diplomatico Visconteo" (Vols. I and II)	Hoepli, Milan	-	-	-	-	1293—1385
Rivoira, G. T.	"Lombard Architecture"	-	-	-	-	
"Rivista Italiana di numismatica"	-	-	-	-	-	1908
Romano, E.	"Sullamorte di Giangaleazzo" (Arch. Ital.)	-	-	-	-	1897
Sanesi, G.	"Siena contra il Visconti" (Boll. Senese)	-	-	-	-	1894
Sismondi.	"History of Italian Republics"	-	-	-	-	1832
Street.	"Brick and Marble Architecture in Italy"	-	-	-	-	1855
Symonds.	"Age of the Despots" (Renaissance in Italy)	-	-	-	-	
Toesca, P.	"La Pittura nella Lombardia"	-	-	-	-	
Verri.	"Storia di Milano"	-	-	-	-	1851

INDEX

- ABBIATE**, treaty of, 155, 156.
Acuto (*see* HAWKWOOD).
Adria, Kingdom of, 93, 95.
Agnese del Maino, 135, 147, 171.
 ,, Mantegazzo, 124.
Aicardo, Archbishop, 17, 36.
Albornoz, Cardinal, 73.
Alessandria, 11, 15, 48, 55, 61, 98,
 102, 136, 137.
 battle of, 98.
Ambrosian Republic, 169, 170.
Amedeus of Savoy (*see* SAVOY).
Angera, frescoes of, 247.
Anghiari, battle of, 162, 163.
Anjou :
 Louis I of, 79-81.
 Louis II of, 81, 84, 90, 93, 95.
 René of, 159.
Annales della Fabbrica, 236.
Appiani of Pisa, 115.
Aragon, Alfonso of, 146, 147, 157,
 159, 164, 165, 166, 168.
Armagnac, John of, 97-99, 112.
Assisi, 116, 126.
Asti, 48, 60, 155.

BARBIANO, Alberico di, 105, 111,
 130, 141, 142, 146.
Barzizza, 234.
Bassano, 102, 112, 128.
Barbarava, 127, 128.
Bavaria :
 Ernest of, 101.
 Frederick of, 82.
 Louis of, Emperor, 26-28
 Stephen of, 82, 96, 97, 104.
Beatrice Tenda, 136, 140-144.
Belluno, 77, 102, 106, 112, 128.
Bergamo, 31, 46, 47, 73, 84, 102,
 129, 150, 160.
Biagio, 159.
Bianca of Savoy, 40, 62, 89, 209-211.
Bianca Maria (*see* VISCONTI).
Bina, naval battle of, 154.
Binasco, 140, 210.
Biscia, the, 6.
Bohemia, John of, 32-34.
Bologna, League of, 100, 110-112.

Bologna : bought by Giovanni, 42,
 48-50; importance, 46, 48; and
 Giovanni da Oleggio, 49-53,
 and Bernabò, 55, 72-77;
 and Giangaleazzo, 96, 100, 109,
 110, 117; acquired by Visconti,
 117; ceded to Papacy, 126.
Bonfadini, 200.
Boniface IX, Pope, 97.
Bonvenius, 2.
Borgoforte, bridge of, 113-115.
Borgognone, 243.
Braccio, 142, 146, 147.
Brazen serpent, 7.
Brescia, 46, 47, 68, 72, 84, 102, 129,
 145, 149, 150, 160.
Burgundy, John, Duke of, 217, 218.
 Philip, Duke of, 94, 97, 99.
Bussolari, Jacopo, 56, 57, 58.

CAGNOLATO, 18.
Campanile of San Gottardo, 245.
Campione, stone workers of, 241.
Campofregoso, Doge, 145.
Cane, Facino, 114, 117, 126, 130-
 135, 142, 145.
Cangrande (*see* DELLA SCALA).
Carrara, Francesco, 96, 99, 105-108.
 Francesco Novello, 107, 108,
 110-112, 128.
Casalmaggiore, battle of, 166.
Cascina, battle of, 76.
Carmagnola, 136, 137, 142-155.
Castello of Pavia, 59, 192, 193, 207,
 210, 245.
Catherine of Siena, 74.
Cavriana, peace of, 163.
Certosa of Pavia, 239-243.
Charles VI of France, 82, 94-96,
 99-103, 214-217.
 ,, of Luxembourg, Emperor, 53-
 55, 63.
Chioggia, 106.
Chrysoloras, 231-233. [102.
Clement VII, Pope, 79, 93-95, 100,
Clothes, 65, 196, 197.
Coins, 247.
Comacini, Magistri, 236.

Como, 11, 15, 31, 46, 55, 102, 127, 137.

Condottieri, the great, 141-143.

Councils, ducal, 175.

Court life, 185, 186.

Corner, 156.

Cosimo dei Medici, 151, 157, 161, 162, 165, 167, 169.

Credenza of S. Ambrogio, 3.

Cremona, 15, 31, 46, 72, 102, 125, 153, 163, 166, 220.

Crime, 181-184.

DAL VERME, Jacopo, 85, 111, 114, 115, 130.

Dante, 19-22.

Decembrio, P.C., 233.

Delebrio, 156.

Della Torre :

Guido, 11-13, 17, 25.

Martino, 8.

Napo, 9, 247.

Della Scala (*See also* VERONA.) :

Antonio, 106-108.

Cangrande, 15, 16, 28, 58.

Cansignore, 77.

Francesco, 111.

Mastino, 33.

Regina, 68, 77, 201-204.

Desio, battle of, 9, 247.

Donnina dei Porri, 75, 87, 92, 202, 203.

Dowry of Valentina, 176-178.

Duchy of Milan, 101, 102.

Duomo of Milan, 194, 235-237.

Durazzo, Charles of, 79-81, 93, 97.

EDICTO, ducal, 174, 176.

Education, 232.

Elizabeth, Queen of England, 221.

Ettore di Bernabò, 129, 136.

Eugenius IV, Pope, 157, 161, 164.

FELTRE, 77, 102, 106, 112, 128.

Ferrara, 11, 117, 156.

„ Peace of, 150, 151, 156.

Fieschi, Elisabetta, 38.

Filelfo, 233.

Finance, 176-178, 188, 190.

Florence, Republic of :

and Bernabò, 67, 75.

and Giangaleazzo, 96-98, 109,

110, 113, 116-121, 149-151, 157-169.

Food, 195.

Foscari, Doge, 148, 149, 154.

GAME LAWS, 68, 69, 183.

Gaza, T., 233.

Genoa : and Matteo, 15, 47 ; bought by Giovanni, 43, 44 ; and Galeazzo II, 60 ; and Giangaleazzo 99, 116 ; held by French, 103, 113 ; attacked by Filippo Maria, 139 ; acquired by him, 145.

Genoa, peace of, 98, 112.

Giotto, 35.

Giovanni da Oleggio, 49-51, 73.

Gonzaga :

Agnese (*see* VISCONTI).

Francesco, 99, 113-115.

Gianfrancesco, 153, 154, 160-162.

Gottolonga, battle of, 150.

Governolo, battle of, 114.

Gregory XI, Pope, 78.

Greek studies, 228, 231-233.

HAWKWOOD (Acuto), 59-61, 73-78, 92, 96, 110-112.

Health regulations, 191.

Henry IV of England, 103, 204

„ VII, Emperor, 12.

Holland, Edmund, Earl of Kent, 205.

Humanists, 227, 228, 232-234.

Hunting, 195.

ISABELLA of VALOIS, 62, 66, 82, 119, 210, 211.

„ of Bavaria, 82, 93-96, 99, 101, 215-217.

Isolani, 110.

JOANNA I of Naples, 48, 79, 80.

„ II of Naples, 138, 139, 144, 146, 147, 159.

John XXII, Pope, 16, 27-30.

Justice, 179-183.

LADISLAS of Hungary, 93.

Lambro, bridge of, 72.

Lament of Bernabò, 85, 229, 230.

Landi, Bianchina, 26.

Lando, condottiere, 76-78.

Legislation, 174.

Leonardo da Vinci, 163.

Library of Visconti, 198, 199.

Lionel of Clarence, 63-66.

Lodi, 31, 46, 47, 55, 84, 102, 127, 137.

Louis of Hungary, 80.

MACHIAVELLI, 88, 123, 128, 143.

Macclodio, battle of, 150.

Malatesta :

Antonia, 131.

Carlo, 131, 150.

Pandolfo, 129.

Sigismondo, 165.

Mantua, 33, 58, 110-115, 149, 161, 162.

Mantuan League, 58, 113.

Manuscripts, 247.

Maria of Sicily, 82, 83.

„ of Anjou, 81.

„ of Savoy, 150, 158, 159, 171.

Marsilio, 234.

Martin V, Pope, 138-141, 159.

Medals, 248.

Melegnano, 118, 220.

Mercenaries, 60, 141-3, 190

Militia, 190.

Mocenigo, Doge, 148.

Montferrat :

and Galeazzo, 53-61.

and Giangaleazzo, 99.

and Gian Maria, 127.

and Filippo Maria, 137, 139, 149-157.

Monza, 24, 27, 30, 246.

Municipal government, 3, 4, 174, 175.

NAVARRÉ, King of, 159.

Novara, 48, 55, 58, 61, 136.

ORLEANS, Charles, Duke of, 218.

Louis, Duke of, 94-103, 168, 213-218.

Orombello, 140.

PADUA, 105-108, 111, 112, 117, 128.

Paleologo, Giacomo (*see* MONTFERRAT, 137).

Parma, 25, 47, 48, 55, 102, 127, 145.

Pavia, 15, 31, 46, 54-59, 66, 102, 125, 136.

University of, 59, 121, 231-234.

Perugia, 116, 126.

Petrarch, 40, 57, 224-228.

Piacenza, 15, 19, 25, 31, 55, 102, 121, 145.

Piccinino, Francesco, 161, 163, 165.

Niccolò, 142, 149, 150-155, 161, 162, 164, 165.

Pisa, 75, 115, 117, 125, 126.

Podestà, system, 179, 180.

Poetry, political, 228-231.

Ponza, naval battle of, 159.

Postal system, 187.

Pusterla, Margherita, 37.

QUARESIMA, 69.

REGGIO, 102.

Richard II, 83.

Robert of Naples, 15, 27-29, 32, 47.

Rubiera, battle of, 73.

Rupert of the Palatinate, Emperor, 103, 104.

SACHETTI, 229.

San Ambrogio, 7, 247.

Sapienza, naval battle of, 44.

Savoy, Amedeus, 149-159, 168.

Bianca of, 40, 62, 89, 209-212.

Scandiano, Antonio di, 99, 206.

Scaramuzza, 134.

Schism, the Great, 79.

Sforza :

Bianca Maria (*see* VISCONTI).

Francesco, 147, 149, 151-163, 168, 169.

Galeazzo Maria, 219, 220.

Muzio Attendolo, 139, 143, 146, 147.

Siena, 115, 127.

Sigismund, Emperor, 138, 152-156.

Sorcery, trial for, 18-21.

Sport, 195.

Swiss mercenaries, 156.

THONON, secret treaty of, 155, 157.

Tombs of Visconti, 246.

Trade, 148, 188-190.

Trezzo, 87.

URBAN V, Pope, 73.

„ VI, Pope, 79-81, 95, 97.

University of Pavia, 59, 121, 231-234.

VAPRIO, battle of, 26.

Venice, 44 and Giangaleazzo, 106, 107, 121.

and Gian Maria, 128 and Filippo Maria, 143-155, 160-169.

Vercelli, 47, 55, 61, 102, 127.

Verona, 15, 77, 78, 102, 105-108, 111, 112, 128, 162.

Vicenza, 15, 102, 107.

Viper crest, 6.

Visconti :

Agnese (Gonzaga), 82, 99, 113, 206.

Antoinetta, 144.

Visconti—Contd.

Azzo, 27; succeeds Galeazzo, 29; and Papacy, 30, 31; and John of Bohemia, 32; prosperity, 33-48.

Azzone, 83-89.

Bernabò expelled, 37; returns 39; marries, 39; character, 67-72; war with Florence, Verona, and Papacy, 72-76; Giangaleazzo, 83-87; fall, 84-87.

Bianca Maria (Sforza), 147, 153, 159, 163-168, 171, 208-220.

Carlo, 82, 84, 86, 91, 92, 96-98, 113.

Caterina, 83, 90, 108, 125-130, 206-209.

Filippo Maria, birth, 113, 124, 125; character, 133-135; marriage, 136; policy, 137; Genoa, 139; Carmagnola, 143-145; Sforza, 146-147; Venice first war, 149-151; Savoy and Montferrat, 149-159; Venice second war, 153-164; Swiss, 156; Florence, 157; Aragon, 159; Venice third war, 165-167; death, 168; summary, 170-172.

Gabrièle, 108, 124-126, 130, 131.

Galeazzo I, head of family 24; sorcery trial, 19-23; disputes, 25-27; papacy, 26; imprisoned, 27; release and death, 28.

Galeazzo II expelled, 37; recalled, 39-40; ruler, 52-55; Pavia, 56-59; Montferrat, 58; White Company, 59-60; alliances, 61-65; death, 66.

Gian Galeazzo, birth, 62, 89; appearance, 89; marriage, 62, 63, 89; Bernabò, 66, 78, 82, 83, 85; policy, 89, 93, 94; Bavaria, 96; Armagnac's expedition, 97, 98; Duke of Milan, 100, 101;

Rupert's expedition, 103, 104; home policy, 105; acquires Verona Vicenza Padua, 106, 107; war with Florence and Bologna, 109-112; Mantuan League, 113-115; gains Pisa, Siena, Perugia, Assisi, Bologna, 115-117; fails with Genoa, 116; illness and death, 118-120; summary, 120-124.

Giovanni, Archbishop, 27, 36; ruler, 37-42; Petrarch, 40; buys Genoa and Bologna, 42, 43; death, 45; territory, 48; tomb, 246.

Giovanni di Carlo, 129, 136.

Giovanni Maria, birth, 108; ruler, 124; minority, 126-128; character, 129-130; disorders of reign, 130-131; murder, 132.

Lodrisio, 25, 27, 34.

Lucia, 80, 81, 84, 103, 204, 205.

Luchino, sorcery trial, 22; expelled, 25; ruler, 36, 37; scandal over wife, 38; death, 38; territory, 39-48.

Ludovico di Bernabò, 83, 84, 86, 212.

Marco di Matteo, 15, 22, 25, 27, 32.

Marco di Bernabò, 77, 84, 86.

Mastino di Bernabò, 84, 92, 96, 129.

Matteo I the Great, birth, 7; rise, 9-14; war on Genoa and Papacy, 15-23; trial for sorcery, 18-23; retires, 23-24; death, 24.

Matteo II, 37.

Ottone, Archbishop, 8-10, 247.

Stefano, 15, 27, 39.

Valentina, 89, 94, 95, 99, 105, 168, 176, 197, 198, 213, 218, 221.

Verde, 82, 221.

Violante, 62-66, 83, 210, 212.

Wedding feast, 63-65.

Wenceslas, Emperor, 101-103.

White Company, 59.

